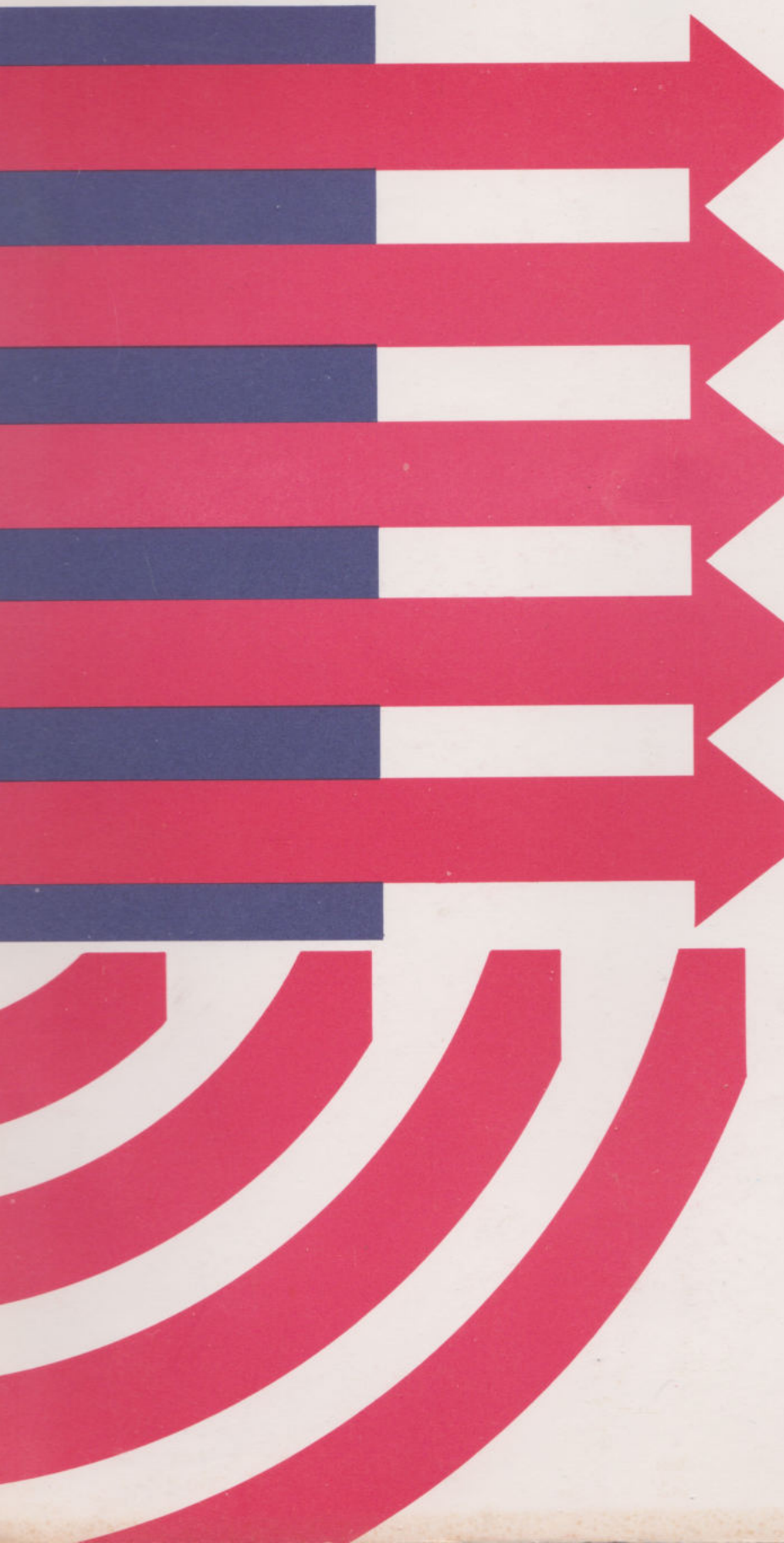




Government and Politics

Notes and Exercises



**UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY: AN OPEN UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION
COURSE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

CONTENTS OF THE FIFTH MAILING (TWO PACKAGES)

This mailing contains the materials, directly supplied by us, for your work from 2 July 1972 to 13 August 1972. PLEASE CHECK that you have every item. If anything is missing write at once, stating what items are not included, to:

The Manager,
Correspondence Services,
The Open University,
Box 50,
Bletchley, Bucks.

PACKAGE 1

Course Units 24-28, Government and Politics

PACKAGE 2

Notes and Exercises 24-28

Tutor-marked Assignment TMA D100 07

Computer-marked Assignment CMA D100 46

Self-assessment Questions

Broadcast Notes – Radio

Broadcast Notes – Television

Offprints:

McQuail, O'Sullivan and Quine, 'Elite education and political values'

Moodie and Eustace, 'British universities as political systems'

GUIDE TO UNITS 24-28

Unit	Title	Reader articles	Set book reading	Other reading	TV programme and date	Radio programme and date
24	The Formal Structure of Government	Dahl 'Political Systems: Differences' Sartori 'Constitutionalism: a Preliminary Discussion'	Carter and Herz <i>Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century</i> pp. 19-23, 28-54, 64-77, 87-98 Levine and Cornwell <i>An Introduction to American Government</i> pp. 135-52		The formal structure of government 2.7.72 (0935) 28.7.72 (1905)	Formal structure of government – the Rhodesian constitutional conflict 9.7.72 (0900) 25.7.72 (1805) Refocus 11 25.7.72 (1855)
25	Informal Political Institutions	Neumann 'Towards a Comparative Study of Political Parties', Almond 'A Comparative Study of Interest Groups and the Political Process'	Levine and Cornwell, <i>ibid.</i> (remainder)		Informal political institutions Part 1 9.7.72 (0935) 4.8.72 (1905) Part 2 16.7.72 (0935) 11.8.72 (1905)	Interest groups: the bane or basis of democracy 16.7.72 (0900) 1.8.72 (1805)
26	Government and Politics Without the State	Mann 'Queue Culture: The Waiting Line as a Social System' Bohannan 'The Social and Political Organisation of the Tiv' MacCallum 'Dispute Settlement in an American Shopping Centre'	Worsley <i>Introducing Sociology</i> pp. 355-73		The Tiv of Nigeria: a stateless society 23.7.72 (0935) 18.8.72 (1905)	Observing social behaviour 23.7.72 (0900) 8.8.72 (1805) Refocus 12 8.8.72 (1855)
27	(i) Political Culture	Weiner 'Struggle against Power: Notes on Indian Political Behaviour' Lipsitz 'Worklife and Political Attitudes: a Study of Manual Workers'	Carter and Herz, <i>ibid.</i> (remainder)	McQuail, O'Sullivan and Quine 'Elite Education and Political Values' Moodie and Eustace 'British Universities as Political Systems'	Politics in groups 30.7.72 (0935) 25.8.72 (1905)	Political socialisation: a research project into the attitudes of schoolchildren 30.7.72 (0900) 15.8.72 (1805)
28	(ii) Politics and Political Systems Politics in Groups	Easton 'An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems' Michels 'The Struggle Among the Leaders Themselves' Frankenberg 'The Politics of Recreation'			Political systems and political cultures 6.8.72 (0935) 15.9.72 (1905)	Review and revision 30.7.72 (0900) 15.8.72 (1805) Refocus 13 22.8.72 (1855)
			Tutor-marked Assignment D100 07. Due date 15 September 1972 Computer-marked Assignment D100 46. Due date 22 September 1972			

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NOTES TO HELP WITH THE STUDY OF BLOCK 6

By this stage of the course you will all be familiar with the different sorts of material provided to help you study aspects of the social sciences and no introduction to them is needed. There are several points, however, that are distinctive about this block so, before you start studying it I want to explain four things: first, the way those of us on the team preparing this material have used the different components in the teaching system and the way we conceived that you would study it; secondly, the relationship of recommended reading to the rest of the reading; thirdly, the way we have sought to indicate how different required reading should be read.

How to use the different components of the teaching system

As with other blocks, the teaching system for this one has a series of different components and we wish to explain how these components have been used. We hope each component contributes to an understanding of government in society and of the discipline of political science. As in previous blocks, the core of the teaching system is the correspondence narrative. This is designed to introduce the major aspects of the topic and to provide a general coverage of the subject matter. When you have mastered these narratives – and this is something you can gain some guidance on through the self-assessment questions – you will have achieved a basic understanding of the topic.

To follow the course narratives, however, you will find that it will be necessary to study other written material in the set books and even more in the Reader. In Unit 24 a full understanding of the narrative depends on your reading sections in both the set books, and in all the units, in order to follow the argument, you will have to go the Reader and consider the different articles in it.

The television and radio programmes are designed in each case to develop in greater depth points introduced in the course narrative. Each particular programme fits into the teaching system in a slightly different way and each, of course, has its own objective; the place and purpose of each is briefly indicated in the programme for the block and will be explained more fully when the programme is introduced.

The set books serve three main purposes. First, you will find that sections in both books are, like the articles in the Reader, integral to the course narrative. Secondly, the remainder of G. M. Carter and H. J. Herz, *Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, provides an introduction that parallels what is covered in the course narrative, and apart from filling gaps in it, the book enables you to look at the points made in the course narrative from the viewpoint of two other authors. The second book, E. L. Levine and E. E. Cornwell, *An Introduction to American Government*, allows you to relate back the generalised discussion about government and

politics to the situation of a single society. At the same time, by looking at the United States, you will be achieving the subsidiary purpose already explained of gaining some of the understanding about American government that is taken for granted in much political science writing.

RECOMMENDED READING

The course narrative, Reader and set books and the broadcasts are then integral and essential components of the block. For those of you with the opportunity a supplementary reading list is provided. This reading is of two sorts. First, there are books which develop further, points introduced in the block.

Second, there are a series of books on three different societies, the United States, Rhodesia, and India, which are included so that you may, if you have the chance, take one or more of these societies and see further how the general ideas introduced in the block apply in a particular society. These three societies are suggested because examples from them recur in the course narratives.

One way to tackle the block

By this stage of the course, each of you will have developed an individual approach and style of work, and this will be one that suits your circumstances, but it seems appropriate to explain how we would expect the block to be tackled. The course narrative is the core of the teaching system and we would expect the course narrative for each unit to be read through once on its own. Next, we would expect that most would be gained from the system if there was a careful reading of the course narrative in conjunction with the relevant sections from the set books and Reader. This associated reading does not all have to be read in the same way – each item has been included for a different purpose and while with some a careful read is appropriate, with others what is needed is a quick read through to gain one main point. You will see, therefore, that in the programme at the beginning of the correspondence text the reading is graded according to the thoroughness with which the item needs to be studied. We have used three categories. First, thorough read (grade 1) – where the subject matter requires that both the detail as well as the main points have to be mastered. Such a piece will be making a substantial contribution, and one that is on the same level as that of the course narrative. Second, general read (grade 2) – where the main points are important but where the detail is important only to the extent that it contributes to understanding the main points. Such reading will generally be supplementing and developing points introduced and explained in the course narrative. Third, quick read (grade 3) – where the detail is unimportant and the purpose of the piece is to exemplify a general point that has been introduced, explained and developed in the course narrative.

It would be most appropriate for the study of the course narrative and

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associated reading to reach this point before you view the TV and listen to the radio programmes. Finally, you will find it useful to check through the course narrative again before completing — where appropriate — the assignments.

This method of handling the components would probably prove the most efficient, but each of you will be able to work out for yourselves how to handle the material. You will also see from a quick glance at the material that the amount of reading varies between units. The first unit in the block in particular has more reading attached to it than other units and you may find it necessary to spread some of the reading attached to this unit, and particularly the text book reading, over two weeks. The total subject covered in this block does not divide up into five separate and equal units; nevertheless the load of work is evened out over the whole block.

associated reading to teach this point before you view the TV and listen to the radio programmes. Finally, you will find it useful to check through the course materials again before completing - when appropriate - the assignments.

This method of handling the components would probably prove the most efficient, but each of you will be able to work out for yourselves how to handle the material. You will also see from a quick glance at the material that the amount of reading varies between units. The first half in the block in particular has more reading attached to it than other units and you may find it necessary to spread some of the reading attached to the unit, and particularly the text book reading, over two weeks. The total subject covered in this block does not divide up into five separate and equal units, nevertheless the load of work is spread out over the whole block.

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UNIT 24

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

When this unit was tested out on 'guinea-pig students' they found, with the exception of Sartori's article in the Reader, that the reading was not difficult but that there was a great deal of it. In the case of Sartori's article I suggest that you try to avoid being caught up in his elaborate style and simply try to extract the main points in a quick read. As for the other reading, make progress initially where you find the going easiest. Start by trying the correspondence text but if you find the going slow or difficult try the sections recommended in the Carter and Herz set book. If you can make quick progress in the text book it may help you when you return to the correspondence text.

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

When this unit was tested out on 'average' students, they found, with the exception of Sartre's article in the Reader, that the reading was not difficult but that there was a great deal of it. In the case of Sartre's article I suggest that you try to avoid being caught up in his elaborate style and simply try to extract the main points in a quick read. As for the other reading, make progress initially where you find the going easiest. Start by trying the correspondence text but if you find the going slow or difficult try the sections recommended in the Carter and Hay's text book. If you can make quick progress in the text book it may help you when you return to the correspondence text.

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UNIT 25

INFORMAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

This unit is designed to provide an understanding of informal political institutions, and the different components should be studied in conjunction with each other. This is particularly true of the different pieces of printed material and I would strongly recommend that you use the following study notes and use the course narrative and associated reading in the way suggested.

- 1 First, I recommend you read Parts 1 and 2 of the course narrative.
- 2 Having read to the end of Part 2, you will have seen that the narrative has been covering three main points. In discussing them the course narrative has been presenting one interpretation, understanding and point of view, and on each of the topics discussed there are different opinions. There are no hard and fast answers to questions like, 'What should the term political party be used to describe?' or 'What is the full range of activities engaged in by political parties, and how should they be characterised?' On pages 440-5 of the Reader you will be able to follow a discussion by Sigmund Neumann that covers much of the ground included in this unit so far. This gives you the chance of comparing two statements and on this basis you should formulate questions for yourself which require exploration and make personal assessments on the issues raised.

Compare in the first place the two statements – that in the course narrative and that in Neumann – on what distinguishes a political party from other organisations, see how they differ, and note what questions you think need to be explored. By taking the comparison further and investigating the interpretation provided by Carter and Herz (1965) and reading the exposition of parties in the USA in Levine and Cornwell (1965) you should be in a position to make an informed judgement.

Next, consider the two accounts of the activities of parties in this unit and in Neumann. Are the two accounts describing the same range of activities under different names? Or are they describing different activities? List the problems you see in the categories used in this unit. When you read Chapter 4 on 'American Political Parties' in Levine and Cornwell, consider, in terms of the classifications of activities in this unit, what activities American parties engage in. Note what activities they are presented as not engaging in and formulate questions you would consider as most appropriate for discovering whether they do not in fact engage in these activities.

This narrative and Neumann both discuss classifications of political parties. Do they classify in the same way or does Neumann provide different and supplementary classifications? If you decide that they are essentially similar relate Neumann's classification to that in the unit. If you consider that Neumann's account supplements, note down the ways it does so and note also any additional connections between types of

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party and features of the political environment which occur to you as being worth exploring. Neumann suggested, for example, that there is a relationship between control of state power and the nature of a party as a party of patronage.

Finally, one student after reading the article by Neumann, commented 'the standard of writing was at the level of the *Daily Telegraph* or *Express*. Far from being a closely argued thesis, it was so loaded with value judgements as to be worthless'. What general justification would someone have for making this sort of judgement, and what particular points in the first five pages of the article might be taken as substantiation for the assessment? In terms of the distinction made in the introduction to this block, would you describe the article as a contribution to empirical political science or to political philosophy, or to neither?

- 3 Having followed up the associated reading you should read Part 3 of the course narrative.
- 4 Now that you have completed Part 3 of the narrative you will be aware that the narrative has been making points in general terms.

Chapter 3 of Levine and Cornwell (1968) discusses interest groups – or as they prefer to call them pressure groups – in the United States. A comparison of the two may suggest certain new judgements and assessments and stimulate lines of thought. As examples, a comparison between the summary of the enumeration of British interest groups provided by S. E. Finer in this narrative with that provided by Levine and Cornwell may suggest questions about how far there are significant differences in the population of interest groups in the two societies. Secondly, this course narrative presents a classification of interest groups which can be compared with the types of interest groups discussed by Levine and Cornwell, and when this comparison is made it would be valuable to note down what you consider to be further areas of enquiry that need to be made about American interest groups. As a final example, after comparing the categories of methods used by interest groups to exert influence that are presented in this narrative, with the account given of the way American interest groups operate, you could note down ways in which the general categories might be subdivided and rank these categories and sub-categories in order of importance in America as indicated by Levine and Cornwell. You might then consider how far these sub-categories would be useful for organising the range of activities you know interest groups engage in in Britain. Finally, when you come to Almond's 'Comparative Study of Interest Groups', Reader (pp. 459-71), you will be able to compare your observations with certain of the generalisations made there about British interest groups.

The television programmes associated with this unit (Programme 25

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Part 1 and Programme 25 Part 2) will help to fill out your understanding of the activities of interest groups in the United States and provide you with a feel for how informal political institutions work along with the formal institutions of government.

- 5 It would now be appropriate to read the remainder of the course narrative and you will see that this leads you directly into the article by Almond, 'A Comparative Study of Interest Groups and the Political Process', Reader, (pp. 459-71).
- 6 The radio programme, as both the course narrative and radio notes indicate, takes up the issue of how the overall effect of interest group activity is to be assessed and judged.

Part 1 and Programme 12 Part 2 will help to fill out your understanding of the activities of interest groups in the United States and provide you with a feel for how informal political institutions work along with the formal institutions of government.

It would now be appropriate to read the remainder of the course narrative and you will see that this leads you directly into the article by Almond, 'A Comparative Study of Interest Groups and the Political Process', Reader, (pp. 458-71).

The radio programme, as both the course narrative and radio notes indicate, takes up the issue of how the overall effect of interest group activity is to be assessed and judged.

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UNIT 26

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS WITHOUT THE STATE

In this unit you will be doing two main things: (1) extending your understanding of what is meant by 'government and politics' and of the ways political scientists and others study this; and (2) looking at a *particular* example of *actual* government and politics in order to grasp the more general points in the first heading.

The actual example discussed is of a so-called 'stateless society', the Tiv people of Nigeria. It is worth remembering that while this example is introduced not for the sake of the details about the Tiv but in order to help you to understand certain more general points, it is a great help in grasping these general points to try to get to grips with the detailed account of Tiv society. You may at first find this difficult – this is often so in studying an unfamiliar society – but it is worth persevering. You will find that the Tiv example is discussed in both the first half of the correspondence text and in one of the Reader extracts (by Bohannan) and in addition is explored further in the television programme.¹

When you feel you have really got somewhere in understanding the Tiv political system you should not leave the matter there, but go on to see this in the wider and more general context discussed in the Introduction and the second half of the correspondence text. Some of the general points about social control and law enforcement are also discussed in the set reading by Worsley, and though on the surface his discussion takes a different direction from that in the correspondence text you may be interested to work out the mutual relevance of the two accounts. It is at this stage, too, that you should follow up your general understanding by reading the two other extracts in the Reader, both of which give further examples to illustrate the general points: MacCallum on keeping order in an American shopping centre, and Mann on the queue as a social or political system in its own right.²

The correspondence text, required reading and television programme thus go closely together. The radio programme, however, is deliberately somewhat separate, and you may prefer to see it in the context of the block or course as a whole rather than only in the light of this week's work. This, however, is more fully treated in the radio notes (to be read *before* listening).

Finally (to end on a personal note) this unit is a good example of the interdisciplinary nature of the course. For though my official designation at The Open University is 'sociologist', I am not sure whether when I worked on this unit I was doing so as a sociologist, a political scientist or a social anthropologist!

¹ You should make a special effort to see this programme if at all possible, since, though it adds little new factual information, it adds a vividness and sense of immediacy which make the written accounts much more meaningful and assimilable.

² The article by Mann need only be skimmed quickly to get the main points; the *detailed* facts and concepts need not be fully mastered.

REQUIRED READING

P. Bohannan, 'Social and political organisation of the Tiv', Reader, pp. 472-7 (Grade 1 read).

S. MacCallum, 'Dispute settlement in an American shopping centre', Reader, pp. 477-81 (Grade 2 read).

P. Worsley, *Introducing sociology*, London, Penguin, pp. 355-73 (Grade 2 read).

L. Mann, 'Queue culture: the waiting line as a social system', Reader, pp. 481-90 (Grade 3 read).

RECOMMENDED READING

One of:

J. Beattie, *Other cultures*, London, Cohen and West, 1964, Chapter 9, Part 1. or

G. Lienhardt, *Social anthropology*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, Chapter 3. also

L. Mair, *Primitive government*, Penguin, 1962, Chapters 1-4.

E. Smith Bowen, *Return to laughter*, New York, Natural History Library, 1964. (A readable and thought-provoking novel written under a pen-name by Laura Bohannan and based to some extent on her experiences doing fieldwork among the Tiv.)

E. Chinoy, *Society*, Chapters 13 and 18.

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UNIT 27(i)
POLITICAL CULTURE

There are no course notes for this unit.

There are no course notes for this unit.

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UNIT 27(ii)

POLITICS AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Three components in the block are designed to introduce two problems – how do you differentiate politics from other activity, and how do abstract models help towards an understanding of political activity. These components are the course narrative 27(ii), D. Easton's article 'An approach to the analysis of political systems' in the Reader, pp. 491-501, and Television Programme 28.

You may well find that the ideas in this part of the block are difficult to grasp. I often find that my defences go up when faced with an abstract problem, but working at it is rewarding. So let me start by saying that difficult and abstract as they may seem, the ideas here are important, well worth working at, and may stimulate exciting thoughts.

The course narrative 27(ii) has been written on the assumption that you will work straight through it. It would then be worth going back to the beginning of Part 3 of 27(ii) and looking at this again in conjunction with the article by Easton. In reading Easton don't try to master and memorise all his special terminology. I would recommend you to read Part 1 and the concluding paragraph carefully. The remainder should be read so that you understand his general argument, but that is all.

When you watch the television programme you will find an exposition of a somewhat different general model and a discussion that will reinforce and develop points made in the course narrative.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS
UNIT 27(B)
D100

These components in the block are designed to introduce two problems – how do you differentiate politics from other activity, and how do abstract models help towards an understanding of political activity. These components are the course narrative 27(B), D. Easton's article 'An approach to the analysis of political systems' in the Reader, pp. 481-501, and television Programme 28.

You may well find that the ideas in this part of the block are difficult to grasp. I often find that my defenses go up when faced with an abstract problem, but working at it is rewarding. So let me start by saying that difficult and abstract as they may seem, the ideas here are important, well worth working at, and may stimulate exciting thoughts.

The course narrative 27(B) has been written on the assumption that you will work straight through it. It would then be worth going back to the beginning of Part 2 of 27(B) and looking at this again in conjunction with the article by Easton. In reading Easton don't try to master and memorize all his material. I would recommend you to read Part 1 and the concluding paragraph carefully. The remainder should be read so that you understand his general argument, but that is all.

When you watch the television programme you will find an exposition of a somewhat different general model and a discussion that will reinforce and develop points made in the course narrative.

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UNIT 28

POLITICS IN GROUPS

The final unit in this block considers one issue — the question of how far there are political processes in a wide range of social institutions. The question is introduced through an example presented on television in Programme 27. The main point is considered and elaborated in Course Unit 28 and there are two pieces of associated reading:

R. Michels, 'The struggle among the leaders themselves', Reader, pp. 525-35;

R. Frankenberg, 'The politics of recreation', Reader, pp. 535-58.

Both these pieces are included as examples. Those choosing to do the relevant exercise can then follow up this work by writing an essay on the *first* of the tutor-marked assignments for the block. The course narrative has been written on the assumption that at the end of Part 2 the article by Michels will be read as an example to give point to the ideas in that part, and that by Frankenberg will similarly be read for the same purpose at the end of Part 4. The article by Frankenberg is eminently readable, but so far as this unit is concerned the main point is well and adequately illustrated by the account of the football club ending on p. 550. Neither the Michels nor the Frankenberg articles should be read with the idea of remembering details, the general point is what matters.

This unit is intentionally a short one because you will need time at this stage to prepare and write your tutor-marked assignment.

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UNIT 28
POLITICS IN GROUPS

The final unit in this block considers one issue – the question of how far there are political processes in a wide range of social institutions. The question is introduced through an example presented on television in Programme 17. The main point is considered and elaborated in Course Unit 28 and there are two pieces of associated reading.

R. Michels, 'The struggle among the leaders themselves', Reader, pp. 232-35.

R. Frankenberg, 'The politics of revolution', Reader, pp. 232-38.

Both these pieces are included as examples. Those choosing to do the relevant exercise can then follow up this work by writing an essay on the first of the information assignments for the block. The course narrative has been written on the assumption that at the end of Part 2 the article by Michels will be read as an example to give point to the ideas in that part, and that by Frankenberg will similarly be read for the same purpose at the end of Part 4. The article by Frankenberg is somewhat lengthy, but so far as this unit is concerned the main point is well and adequately illustrated by the account of the football club ending on p. 236. Neither the Michels nor the Frankenberg articles should be read with the idea of remembering details; the general point is what matters.

This unit is intentionally a short one because you will need time at this stage to prepare and write your information assignment.

Tutor-marked Assignment

The Open University
Social Sciences: A Foundation Course
TMA D100 07 (covering Units 24-28)

Please return your completed assignment to your course tutor to arrive by
15 September 1972.

Do not send it in more than seven days before this date.

Completing your TMA

Use A4 size paper for your written assignment, and put your name, student serial number and assignment number at the top of every sheet.

Sending in your TMA

Please refer to the *BA Degree Handbook 1972* for full information about the submission of assignments, and guidance on the procedures to be followed if you fall behind with your work.

When you have completed your written assignment fill in Section 1 of the five-part CT3 form, taking particular care to enter your student serial number and the assignment number correctly.

The completed assignment together with the CT3 form should be returned in the envelope provided to your course tutor for marking. Before mailing make sure that you have put your name, student serial number and assignment number on the envelope in the spaces provided.

If you are not fully familiar with the instructions for completing the CT3 form, read the section 'Tutor-marked Assignments (TMAs)' in the *BA Degree Handbook 1972*, starting at page 159.

TMA D100 07

Students should choose *one* of the two following assignments.

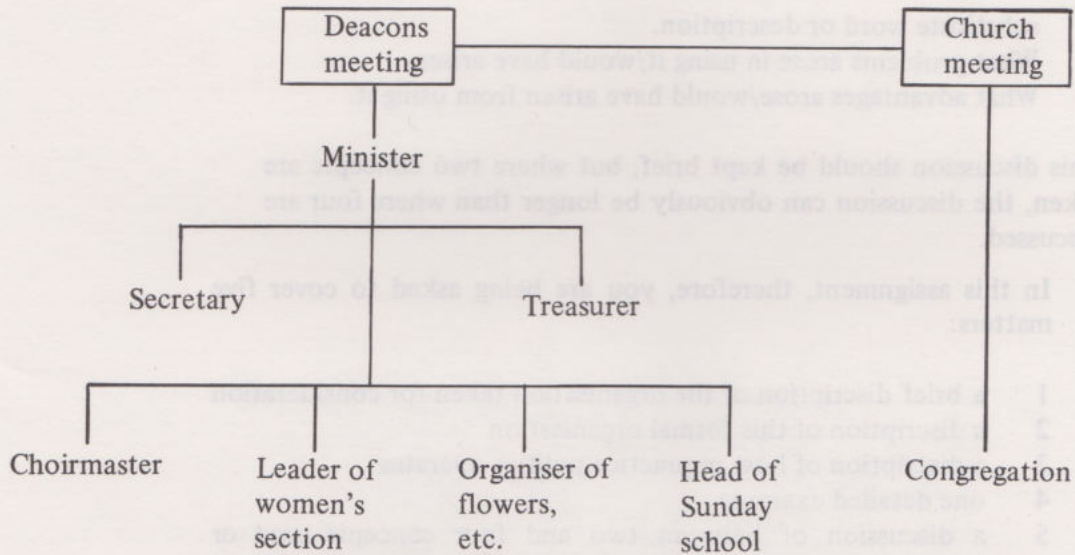
1 FORMAL STRUCTURE AND INFORMAL POLITICAL PROCESSES

Understanding politics in society doesn't mean just the activities of the Labour and Conservative parties or what is going on in the House of Commons; it is also concerned with the goings on in Pentreduwaith football club, the local social club, office or school. Politics is going on around us the whole time and we are all involved in it. This exercise provides you with the opportunity of looking at the politics around *you* and of describing it.

The exercise involves doing the following things:

- 1 Take any formally organised body with which you are familiar; it may be a school, office, club, church, local branch of a political party, or anything else. Don't try for something too large – a factory with 500 people would be unmanageable; a management staff of 30 should not be.
- 2 Describe briefly – say fifty words or less – what the organisation is.
- 3 Describe the formal organisational structure of the institution. If you can present it in diagrammatic form as an organisation chart, all the better. Someone might, for example, take the Missioner Church, (a school, government office, social club or other institution could equally appropriately have been used to illustrate the point). He might describe the organisation as comprising the governing body – the ultimate rule-making body – which is the church meeting (comprising all members of the church); the executive as the deacons meeting chaired by the minister, with a secretary, treasurer and deacons; and a subordinate organisation consisting of the head of the Sunday school, leader of the women's section, choirmaster, and organiser of flowers, sidesmen's and cleaning rosters. The description might then go on to explain how authority was formally distributed with everyone in the church meeting having one vote.

TMA D100 07



- 4 Describe in general terms but giving at least one extended example, how politics in practice operates. The account of the Missioner Church might present a description the gist of which was that there was an old lady, an ordinary member of the church meeting, who was known to make a sizeable contribution to the offertory and on whom indeed the continuance of the church was financially dependent.

She had very decided ideas about various things in the running of the church, including the anthems sung by the choir, so that she became an unofficial centre of power, and had to be consulted on matters including the anthems to be sung, but convention required that this should be done without the old lady having any right to be consulted. The account might go on to describe as an example of how things happened, the episode when the old lady took initially a lone but ultimately decisive stand against a group of church members who happened to include a gas fitter, on whether overhead gas heaters should be installed. Talking from under a huge hat, she had the last word when she stated that it would disfigure the church and anyway it was her toes that got cold, not her head.

- 5 Finally, there should be a discussion of between two and four important concepts introduced in this block that you have either used in your account or considered using and decided not to. The discussion should explain:

Why you used/did not use it.

How you used it (if you did). What advantages arose from the

substitute word or description.

What problems arose in using it/would have arisen.

What advantages arose/would have arisen from using it.

This discussion should be kept brief, but where two concepts are taken, the discussion can obviously be longer than where four are discussed.

6 In this assignment, therefore, you are being asked to cover five matters:

- 1 a brief description of the organisation taken for consideration
- 2 a description of this formal organisation
- 3 a description of how in practice politics operates
- 4 one detailed example
- 5 a discussion of between two and four concepts used or considered for use.

Tutors have been advised in assessing assignments to treat these different matters as having the following relative importance.

- 1 5%
- 2 20%
- 3 20%
- 4 20%
- 5 25%

and the aptness of the institution selected for discussion should count for 10%.

Obviously these are only general indications but you will want to take them into account when completing your assignment.

2 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

This is a 'do it yourself' exercise to help your understanding of political socialisation. You are asked to identify factors which have been important in determining an individual's (a) knowledge of politics; and/or (b) interest in politics; and/or (c) sense of personal, political efficacy;¹ and/or (d) belief in efficacy of political system.² To do this you should:

- 1 construct a simple questionnaire;
- 2 choose people to whom you will put the questions;
- 3 present what you regard as the most significant findings of your survey;
- 4 write a brief report on the whole operation relating what you have discovered to the reading you have undertaken in the block (especially Unit 27i).

¹ A sense of personal, political efficacy can be taken to mean that a person can participate in and have some influence on the political system.

² See definition in offprint of McQuail's article.

TMA D100 07

This is an exercise calling for a fair amount of ingenuity and initiative, but do not be afraid to tackle it simply because it is challenging. In looking at your efforts the tutor will appreciate the difficulties and limitations that you face.

Aim of exercise

As already stated, the main aim is to increase your knowledge and understanding of political socialisation, and so the exercise is seen very much as a teaching mechanism. You are not expected to have any specialist knowledge of survey work but naturally in undertaking the exercise you will gain at least a little insight into the methods and techniques of social surveys. There will be no attempt to amalgamate all the results of the exercises, partly because there is no uniform foundation for the survey but mainly because that would move the emphasis away from a teaching device for each individual student.

Also because of the small size of your sample you cannot individually expect to produce 'significant' results. Results are not, therefore, the major aim of the exercise. You should gain most benefit by the process involved in the assignment in such matters as identifying the propositions you will test, deciding on the questions you will ask and trying to relate your findings to your original propositions.

Knowledge, interest and sense of efficacy are often associated together and in your exercise you may try to relate all three together. Alternatively, you may decide to test only one or two of these features, i.e. concentrate on efficacy, or interest and efficacy, and ignore knowledge.

Relevant parts of Block 6

There are four relevant background pieces in the block which should help you with the exercise.

- 1 Political socialisation is discussed in Unit 27(i).
- 2 In the radio programme (Unit 27) a specific piece of research is examined on the influence of schools in forming political attitudes.
- 3 Related to the radio programme, you have been given an article by McQuail and others which also deals with political socialisation through schools.
- 4 In the Reader, the article by Lipsitz on 'Work Life and Political Attitudes: a study of manual workers' (pp. 513-24) is based on a small-scale survey and you may gain ideas from it.

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What is to be investigated?

You should aim to identify factors which you think have been important in establishing an individual's knowledge, interest and sense of personal efficacy in politics. You should do this by setting up one or more propositions drawn from the course material. For example, based on the section 'Cross National Characteristics' in Unit 27(i) pp. 113-4 you might decide to test the two propositions

- (a) 'Men are more interested in politics than women.'
- (b) 'The individual's standard of education is more important than sex in determining interest in politics.'

The group of people you decide to question will go some way to determining the factors you investigate. For example, if you decide to restrict your questioning to colleagues who are doing a similar job, the occupation would be a common background, and you might decide to investigate such variables as education, and/or sex, and/or age, and/or family background. However, if you were questioning only members of your own family, you might decide to include occupation as one of the variables. (A word of warning here, for 'family background' is a wide and vague term. For example, you may decide that your cousin has a very different 'family background' to yourself. His parents may have done very different jobs from your parents and they may have had very different attitudes towards politics.)

The variables from which you should choose are:

- (a) occupation
- (b) family background
- (c) age
- (d) sex
- (e) education

You will not be able to test for all these variables.

In identifying a person's occupation, you will almost certainly have to place him in a broad 'socio-economic' occupational group, e.g. 'upper middle class', 'skilled working class'. One set of groups is given in Appendix B.

In covering education, you may, for example, decide to classify according to the final category of school attended (e.g. secondary modern, grammar, etc.) or you may decide to distinguish between those who have or have not had higher education.

In looking at family background, you will again probably have to distinguish 'socio-economic' groups.

The sex classification is obvious, but in looking at age you will probably want to bring people together into age groups, e.g. 20-29; 30-39, etc.

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Questionnaire

Try to keep your questions as simple and unambiguous as possible. Remember we are not expecting you to reveal professional expertise, but the questions you ask obviously dictate your results and so you should think carefully and clearly about what you want to examine.

You may combine general questions with more particular ones, e.g. *General* – 'Do you think your interest in politics is (a) small; (b) a little less than average; (c) average; (d) a little more than average; (e) great?' *Particular* – 'How many party political television broadcasts did you watch before the last election (a) none; (b) less than five; (c) five or more?'

Try not only to keep your questions clear and straightforward, but do not ask too many. Your questionnaire should have a *maximum* of nine questions. Obviously, in keeping to a maximum of nine questions, you will have to be very selective, and there is much you will not be able to discover within this wide area of political socialisation but, again, this will be appreciated by the tutor.

Some hints on asking questions are given in Appendix A.

Number of interviews

Try to interview between ten and twenty people. If you are able to interview more you may, of course, feel free to do so. In interviewing such a small number of people, you cannot hope to produce nationally important statistics. What you should be able to see, however, is whether some of the points you have met in the correspondence units and the radio programme hold up in your small survey. It is entirely your choice to whom you put the questions. You may choose strangers, or colleagues, or friends, or members of your family. You may decide to spread your net widely in a random sample to cover people with a variety of backgrounds, or you may concentrate on people with some common social tie, e.g. members of your family or people living in the same road.

In making your report, you should mention how you chose people.

Submission of report

At the end of the exercise you should submit to your tutor:

- 1 A copy of the propositions you were testing.
- 2 A copy of your questionnaire.
- 3 What you regard as your most significant results. You may show these in a variety of ways, e.g. tables showing percentages, bar

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charts, pie charts or combinations of these. In Appendix C, examples are given of methods of displaying your results. (Giving percentages from a survey which may cover only ten people will re-emphasise for you the limitations of the exercise for drawing any firm conclusion. Remember, it is to help with teaching, not to produce significant new findings.)

- 4 A written report of about 500-700 words on the exercise. The report should show (a) how the results of your investigation relate to your original propositions, and in doing this you should be able to indicate how some of the findings about political socialisation to which you have been introduced in the correspondence text appear to be confirmed or challenged by your survey; (b) very briefly what conclusions you have reached about testing by survey techniques.

Marking of assignment

In terms of marking I am asking the tutors to give the following rough weightings for the various sections listed under 'Submission of Report'.

1 and 2 (i.e. a copy of the propositions you were testing and the questionnaire) 30%

3 Results — 20%

4 Report — 50%

Appendices

In the appendices you find

- A Notes to help in wording questions.
- B Notes to help distinguish socio-economic groups.
- C Examples of ways to lay out results.

APPENDIX A

The wording of questions

Here are a few 'rules' about the wording of questions which may help you avoid the more common errors.

- 1 Questions that are too long
Short and simply structured sentences are more easily understood than long, complex ones. The greater the number of words, the more complicated the structure of the question must become. As a general rule, try to keep questions to less than twenty words if at all possible.

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- 2 Questions that use words that are not familiar to the respondent
The words used in questions should match the vocabulary normally used by the people you are interviewing as closely as possible. If you are interviewing a sample of research chemists, their professional language is uniform and known. If you are interviewing the general public, it is desirable to word the questions at the lowest vocabulary level represented in the sample. Never use a longer, more unusual word, when it has a simple equivalent, e.g. 'observe' for 'see', 'purchase' for 'buy'.
- 3 Questions that use one or more words that are ambiguous in context
This may be because of the way in which the question has been constructed, or because some words have two or more meanings when used in different ways, e.g. 'Do you know your MP?' This could mean do you know his name, or it could mean do you know him personally.
- 4 Combined questions
Careless wording sometimes results in two questions being asked as if they were one. 'Who do you consider is the most popular and able political leader?' This question should be divided into two, one dealing with ability and one with popularity.
- 5 Questions that are too vague and not specific enough
Examples of these often involve the use of words like 'regularly', 'frequently', 'usually', 'normally'. Words like these almost always mean different things to different people, e.g. 'Do you watch TV regularly?' – can mean every day, twice a week, once a week.
- 6 Leading or loaded questions
The most common example of this is where only one alternative is given, e.g. 'Do you approve of Mr Heath as Prime Minister?' The two alternatives of 'approve' and 'disapprove' should always be given.

APPENDIX B

Suggested socio-economic groups

In many of our surveys, it is desirable to classify contacts into one of six social classes. These classes have been defined by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA), and are generally accepted by manufacturers, advertising agencies and market and opinion research organisations.

Contacts fall into six groups, distributed throughout the whole country in the following proportions:

Non-manual	A	upper middle class	—	3%
	B	middle class	—	10%
	C ¹	lower middle class	—	18%
Manual	C ²	skilled working class	—	37%
	D	working class	—	25%
	E	the very poor	—	7%

Examples of occupations falling into each of these groups are given below.

Classify retired persons according to their former occupation, wives according to their husband's occupation and students on their home background.

Group C² people may be earning larger wages than those in group C¹, but the type of work is as important as the income. *All skilled manual workers*, no matter what they earn, would in this classification fall under C².

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DEFINITIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

	Social grade	Social status	Examples of head of household's occupation
Non-Manual	A	Upper Middle Class	Higher managerial, administrative or professional (doctor, solicitor, architect, chartered accountant, estate agent, senior civil servant, senior journalist, stockbroker, commercial airline pilot, senior qualified engineer)
	B	Middle Class	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional (university lecturer, matron of large hospital, farmer of farm 100-499 acres, police inspector, owner/manager/senior executive of medium size firm 16/24 employees, senior qualified librarian)
	C ¹	Lower Middle Class	Supervisory or clerical, and junior managerial, administrative or professional (clerk, typist, senior shop assistant, bus inspector, laboratory assistant, draughtsman, lower managerial and supervisory grades of non-manual workers)
Manual	C ²	Skilled Working Class	Skilled manual workers (most adult male skilled workers, underground coal mining workers, better paid transport workers, tailor, carpenter)
	D	Working Class	Semi and unskilled <i>manual</i> workers (most adult female manual workers, apprentice to skilled trade, agricultural workers, junior shop assistant, bus conductor, cleaner)
	E	Those at lowest level of subsistence	People without a regular job, or lowest grade workers; state pensioners or widows, with no other earner in household

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APPENDIX C

Presenting results: some examples

1 In table form

Party voted for at last election
by age of leaving school and sex

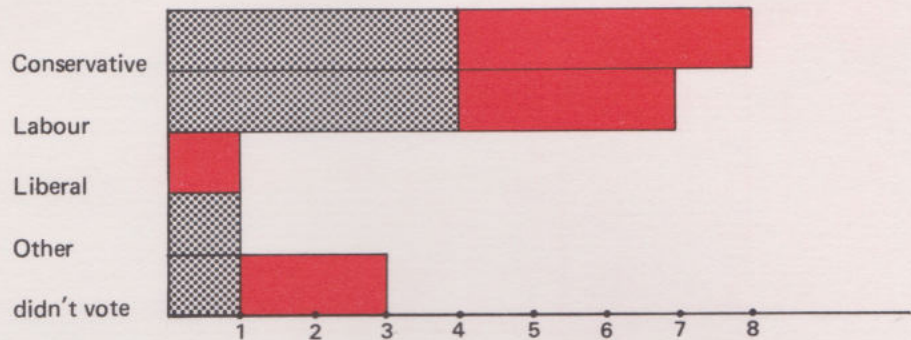
	Age at which left school								
Party	15 and under			16 and over			Totals		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Conservative	2	3	5	2	1	3	4	4	8
Labour	3	2	5	1	1	2	4	3	7
Liberal	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1
Other	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
Didn't vote	1	1	2	—	1	1	1	2	3
TOTAL	7	6	13	3	4	7	10	10	20

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2 Examples of bar charts

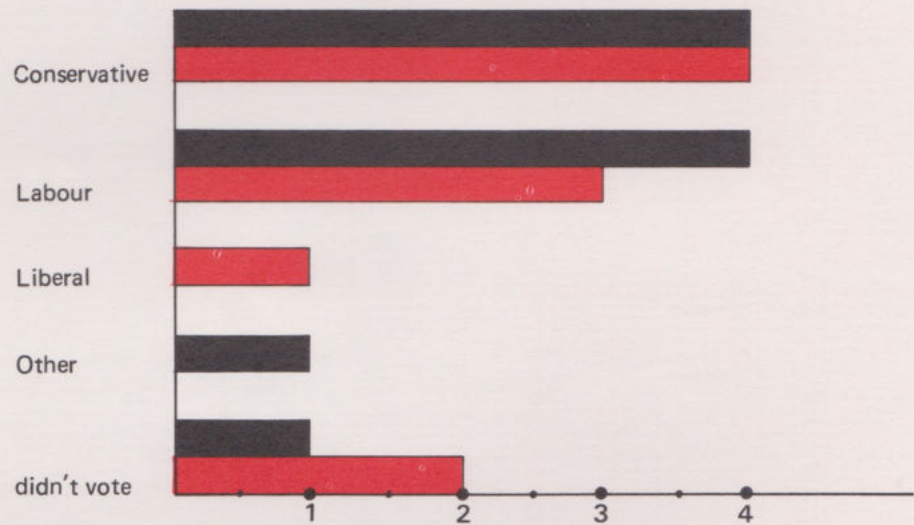
1 Sub-divided:
e.g. Party voted for
by sex.

Male = 
Female = 

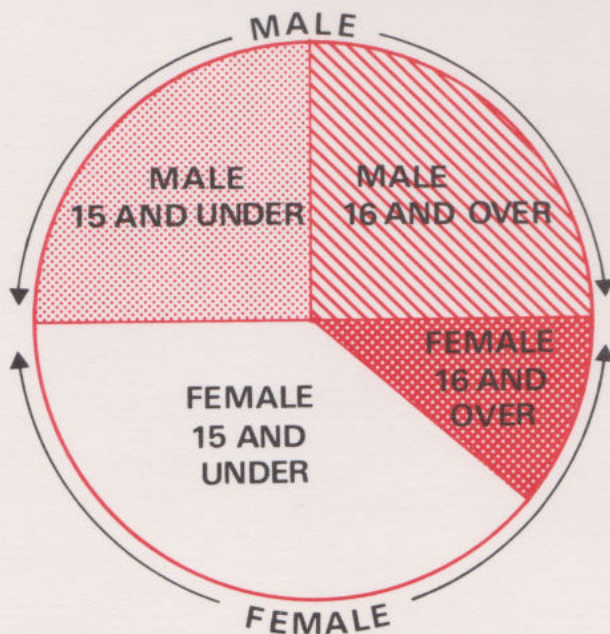


2 Grouped:
e.g. Party voted for
by sex

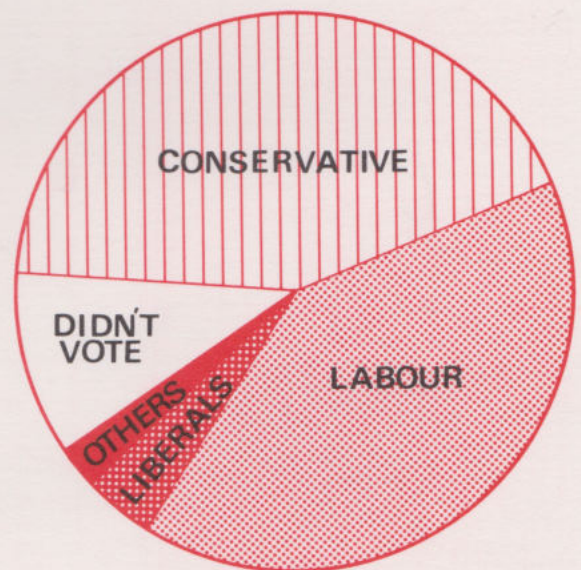
Male = 
Female = 



3 Examples of pie charts

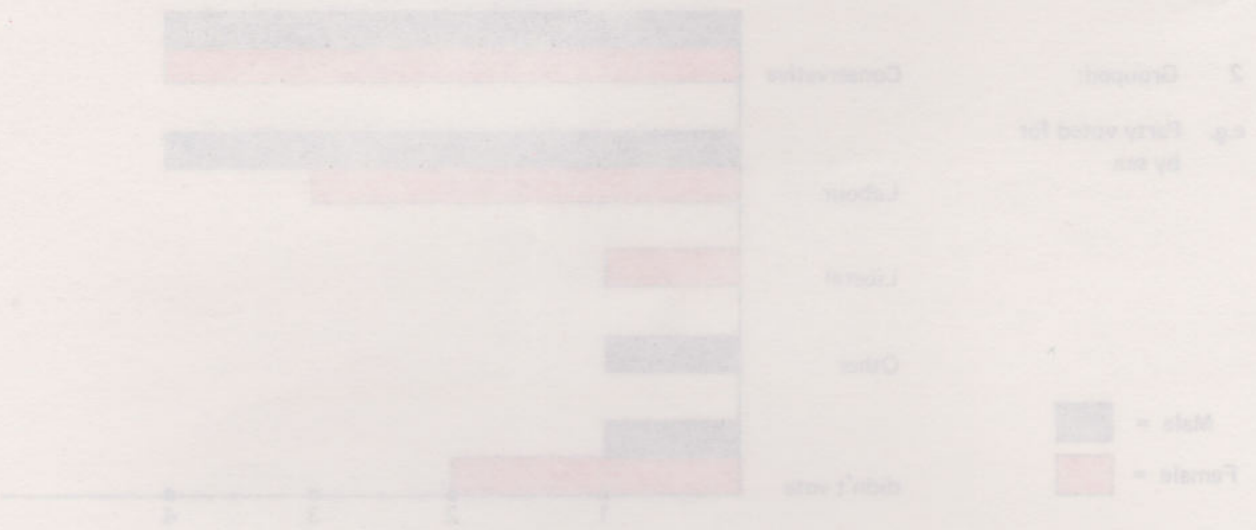
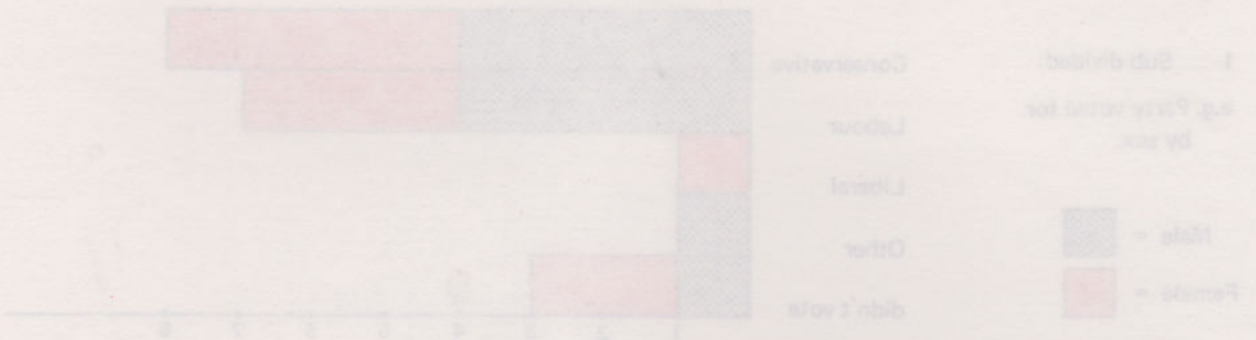


e.g. Those who voted Conservative
by age at which left school
and sex.



e.g. Party voted for at last
election.

2 Examples of bar charts



3 Examples of pie charts



Computer-marked Assignment

The Open University
Social Sciences: A Foundation Course
CMA D100 46 (covering Units 24-28)

Please return the CMA form for this assignment to arrive at the Open University by 22 September 1972.

Make sure that you know how to use the CMA form, the instructions are given in the *BA Degree Handbook 1972*.

Complete Part 1 of the CMA form for this assignment:

- 1 Write your serial number, the assignment number, the date, and your name, initials and address, in the left-hand box.
- 2 Pencil out the cells corresponding to your student serial number in the serial number box.
- 3 Pencil out the cells corresponding to this assignment number (as shown alongside) in the assignment number box.

ASSIGNMENT NUMBER									
A	A	A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIS ASSIGNMENT

THE 'COMMENT 1' CELLS

- 1 If you do not select any of the alternatives offered to you, leave the answer cells (capital letters) blank, and indicate one of the reasons in COMMENT 1 on the same line. The reasons are:
 - (a) I do not understand this question.
 - (b) I understand the question, but more than the required number of alternatives seem right to me.
 - (c) I understand the question, but none of the alternatives seem right to me.
 - (d) I understand what the question is getting at but do not know the answer.
 - (e) (Any other reason for not answering the question should be classified as d.)

DO NOT make any mark in COMMENT 1 if you have attempted the question.

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THE 'COMMENT 2' CELLS

- 2 At the end of each block you find a row of cells headed 'COMMENT 2'. Indicate here how difficult you found *the block as a whole*, like this:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) Very difficult | (e) Leave blank; not to be used |
| (b) Fairly difficult | (f) Leave blank; not to be used |
| (c) Not very difficult | (g) Leave blank; not to be used |
| (d) Not difficult at all | |

THE 'COMMENT 3' CELLS

- 3 At the end of each block you will also find a row of cells headed 'COMMENT 3'. Here we would like you to tell us how sound you considered *this block as a whole* in the sense that it made you think constructively about the related course material and probed fairly your knowledge of, and ability to apply, this material.

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| (a) Very sound | (c) Not very sound |
| (b) Fairly sound | (d) Not sound at all |

Make a note of the time now

The geomatrix on page 39 is a deliberately jumbled array of significant words and phrases, contained in 49 cells.

The answer to each question below consists of one or more cells e.g. the answer to 'What institutions are included in 2D?', would be: 3A and 4F; or perhaps 3A, 4F, 5E, 5C, 7F.

The marking is flexible in that for each statement advanced as an answer to any one question there can be graded marks or graded penalties, according to the teaching staff's opinion as to its relevance or irrelevance.

Questions

BLOCK U

Which cells indicate political institutions which can be termed informal and are not a part of the formal structure of government?

BLOCK V

Why are there, from one point of view, a hundred political parties in the USA?

BLOCK W

Indicate the reasons for the great stability and continuity in the organisation of Congress.

BLOCK X

Assemble five cells, or groups of cells, to show five ways in which the President can defend his policies against a hostile Congress.

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	The disposition of federal funds	Judicial review	Pressure groups	Bill of Rights	The Executive	Using the media	Seniority
2	Patronage	Veto	Political appointments	Congress	State elections	The Democratic Party	Declaring unconstitutional
3	The Senate	National elections	Organising Congress	Conflict between interest groups	Power through possession of information	Impeachment	Influencing legislation
4	Power to investigate	States' rights	The President	Developing countries	Federal control	The House of Representatives	The Republican Party
5	The Electoral College	Lobbyists	The Chairmen of Committees	Initiating legislation	The Congressional Committee system	The constitution	The Vice-President
6	Professional civil servants	State legislation	Obtaining votes	Outvoting by $\frac{2}{3}$ of each House	Voting federal funds	Power through experience and expertise	The Supreme Court
7	Presidential parties	The safe district system	The central government's rights	Extra constitutional practices	Influencing voters	Congressional parties	A concurrent resolution

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BLOCK Y

Y1 Which of the following statements is correct?

The classical division of government was intended

- A to increase popular participation
- B to help concentrate power in the legislature
- C to provide an efficient specialised bureaucracy
- D to exercise a checking device between the major branches of the government
- E to provide a framework of government for a federal state

Y2 Which of the following statements is *untrue* about a federal state?

- A No government claims sovereignty over the territorial area of the state
- B The constitution always ensures that there is 'limited' government
- C The executive never sits in the legislature
- D The constitution usually lays down divisions between the legislative areas of the central and provincial (state) governments

Y3 Taken in the aggregate political parties are engaged in a number of activities. Of which of the following is this true?

- A Coercing people to cast their votes in an election
- B Organising opinion

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- C Political articulation
- D Seeking to influence the way power is exercised without trying to control it
- E Persuading people to interpret political situations in a particular way
- F Selecting people for public office
- Y4 Three of the following are exemplified incorrectly. Which are they?
- A Parties of competition e.g. Democratic Party (USA)
- B Anomic interest group e.g. an organised demonstration
- C Institutional interest groups e.g. Zionist Organisation of America, National Association of Cotton Manufacturers (USA)
- D Non-associational interest group e.g. Tiv lineage
- E Parties of control e.g. Nazi Party
- F Associational interest group e.g. Howard League for Penal Reform, American Medical Association
- G According to Duverger, the following were examples of mass parties: the Radical Socialist Party in France, and the Republican Party in the USA.
- Y5 Which of the following statements about 'stateless societies' would you consider justified?
- A Official posts in the hierarchy are held by the elders
- B The maintenance of order is achieved by other mechanisms than those of the state

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- C Rule adjudication cannot take place
- D Government is always based on a lineage structure
- E Lineages sometimes form the framework of government
- F Authority is not centralised
- G The single most significant factor is kinship
- Y6 Which of the following are clear advantages of the Tiv social and political system?
- A Close relatives cannot find themselves on opposite sides of a battle
- B Present conflicts can usually be decided by reference to well-established precedent
- C Armed conflict is unlikely to escalate beyond a certain point
- D Family, polity, and territory are all integrated
- E The lineage indicates the correct office-holders and their successors
- Y7 Which of the following statements do you consider to be true?
- A The processes of fission and fusion are highly effective among the Tiv but have been abandoned by more developed societies
- B In all societies many conflicts are resolved on an informal basis rather than by recourse to formal legal procedures
- C The activities of Tiv lineages, Australian football queues and American shopping centres have nothing in common

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- D Judges in Tiv courts pay more attention to giving moral lectures than citing legal precedents
- E Tiv individuals are totally dominated by their lineage
- F To fully understand behaviour in the shopping centre described by Mac-Callum one must take account of informal law

BLOCK Y												
ANSWER							COMMENT 1					
1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
2	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
3	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
4	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
5	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
6	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
7	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	
COMMENT 2							COMMENT 3					
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	

BLOCK Z

- Z1 Which of the following aspects of Tiv Society operate as safety-valves to lineage pressures?
- A moots
- B officials
- C fission and fusion
- D ritual specialism
- E the kwagh
- F patrilocal residence
- G market control
- Z2 Which of the following statements characterise a 'subject political culture'.
- A 'We are committed to opposing the government with all the constitutional means at our disposal'
- B 'We know from experience that the best rulers are those who are born into our ruling families'
- C 'I don't know much about government and I don't want to know much'

D 'The more I know about government, the more I realise that I must reconcile myself to rule by an unrepresentative oligarchy'

E 'We must fight against cynicism, against the belief that there is nothing we can do to make the government change its mind'

Z3 The study of politics is no longer so closely connected with the idea of the sovereign state. Which two of the following factors have had the most pronounced influence on this development?

A the French Revolution

B the writings of Karl Marx

C World Wars I and II

D the Industrial Revolution

E a more nomothetic approach to the subject

F the study of 'primitive' societies

G the use of a systems approach

Z4 Dahl, on the one hand, and Almond and Powell, on the other, provide different definitions of politics. Indicate which of the following institutions as illustrated in this block (Units 24-28) are *not* engaged in politics in the sense employed by Almond and Powell.

A football queue as described by L. Mann (Reader)

B a Tiv lineage

C Pentrediwaith Supporters Club

D Republican Party (USA)

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- E a Bushman band
- F Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union
- G The Anti-Saloon League in the USA
- Z5 In this block (Units 24-28) an explicit and implicit comparison has been introduced between two societies, those of the United States and the Tiv. Indicate which of the following are valid reasons for selecting these two societies.
- A They are both sufficiently well researched
- B They allow for a comparison between an 'industrial' and 'non-industrial' society
- C It is important that as social scientists we should study those societies that are well governed
- D They allow for the findings of political scientists and social anthropologists to be related to each other
- E They are presented as showing how, through a structural functional analysis, a progression can be demonstrated from primitive to developed political systems.
- F By taking two societies distant from that in which we ourselves live we can consider basic characteristics of politics without emotional commitment and without being preoccupied with minutiae
- G It provides an opportunity for raising questions that are challenging for those inclined to an ethnocentric western outlook

Z6 The process of classifying and categorising has certain clear benefits. Of which of the following is this true?

- A It facilitates the search for general relationships
- B It aids communication between those studying different political systems
- C The categories themselves explain an actual situation
- D It draws attention to differences
- E It explains similarities

Z7 On the basis of the course material, which of the following statements would you reject?

- A Politics is concerned exclusively with the government of the state
- B An illiterate society cannot have a structure of government
- C Where there are political parties there are competitive elections
- D A political system can exist without a formal legislature or executive
- E Different political cultures help to explain the different ways in which similar constitutions are operated

BLOCK Z											
ANSWER								COMMENT 1			
1	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
2	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
3	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
4	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
5	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
6	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
7	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
COMMENT 2								COMMENT 3			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)

Make a note of the time now

Now answer the general questions on the assignment by pencilling out one cell for each of the Questions 4, 5 and 6 on Part 3 of your CMA form.

You have now completed this assignment. Please check your entries on Parts 1, 2 and 3 of your completed form. Make sure there are no unintended marks on the form.

Carefully fold your completed form in half along the dotted line and post it in the envelope marked 'Computer-marked Assignment' to arrive at the Open University by 22 September 1972.

D100

Unit 24

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

- 1 Compare the following places under the column headings shown, marking a tick for YES, a cross for NO and a question mark when you cannot give any certain answer.

	A Has it clearly defined boundaries?	B Has it its own legislature?	C Has it embassies/ consulates in other countries?
1 The Isle of Wight			
2 The Isle of Man			
3 Wales			
4 East Germany			
5 Iceland			
6 The Vatican			

D100 Unit 24

- 2 One definition of 'sovereignty' given in the unit is:
- A the powers of a monarch
 - B he who has the last word
 - C absolute power within the state
- 3 Which of the following would you describe as 'nations', and why?
- A Ukrainians
 - B American Irish
 - C Canadians
 - D South Africans
- 4 What method(s) were/are being used to bring state and nation together?

	A Drawing state boundaries round existing nations	B Large-scale movement of population	C Developing a sense of nationality within an existing state
1 Czechoslovakia 1919			
2 Pakistan 1947			
3 Canada 1970			
4 Nigeria 1970			

Self-assessment Questions

D100 Unit 24

- 5 Which of the following do you think form parts of the formal structure of government in the USA?
- A the state legislature in Utah
 - B the Democratic Party
 - C the Mayors of Chicago and New York
 - D the United States Army
- 6 Against the statements in column I, write the goal of government, as defined by Blondel, which seems most relevant.

I	II
A 'The chief task of the Government is to relieve unemployment.'	
B 'The Government refuses to take such action because it has no legal authority for it.'	
C 'Our aim must be to ensure that people have a say in what is decided.'	

D100 Unit 24

7 Which means of limiting the government are being suggested here?

	A Restricting the area of government activity	B Distribution of powers within government	C Dividing authority between governments	D Requiring the government to seek re-election
1 The state educational systems in Australia				
2 'An Englishman's home is his castle				
3 The threat of a vote of no confidence in Parliament				
4 The Commons, the ministers and the judges				

8 Which three items are particularly characteristic of a bureaucracy?

- A fixed qualifications needed
- B permanent and pensionable appointments
- C a system of ranks and seniority
- D differentiated roles within the system
- E not allowed to hold executive office
- F not tied to any one party

9 If Aristotle had applied his views to Rhodesia, which among the following do you think he would have thought was the basis for the 'right constitution'? (see Reader article by Dahl).

- A rule by the dominant racial group
- B a ruling elite recruited for its educational achievements
- C one man, one vote regardless of race or wealth
- D rule by a multi-racial, paternal and property-owning aristocracy
- E a powerful and just dictator of any race

Self-assessment
Questions

D100 Unit 24

- 10 Insert in column B the grounds Weber would have given for the legitimacy of rulers in column A. (See Reader article by Dahl.)

A	B
1 Hitler	
2 The Kabaka of Buganda	
3 De Gaulle	
4 Churchill	

- 11 Which of the following characteristics distinguish federal governments?
- A The executive and legislature of the central government are always clearly divided
 - B There are two levels of government each of which has an area of autonomous action
 - C The state or provincial governments have the constitutional right to ignore the decisions of the central government in certain areas of policy
 - D The central government is chosen from nominees of the state governments
 - E The local governments have clearly-defined powers which derive from the central government

D100 Unit 24

ANSWERS

These questions have been designed to teach as well as test your memory. You will see from the uncertainty of many of the answers that the application of precise definitions or rules is not always possible.

- 1 1A; 2A and B; 3A; 4A, B and C; 5A, B and C; 6A, B and C

For a definition of 'boundaries' see Unit 23 p. 11. In answering the question, I have accepted that local government boundaries as well as state boundaries demarcate 'political units'. You may, of course, question this.

I have assumed that the Vatican Curia can be considered a legislature.

- 2 B, see p. 17 of Unit 24.

- 3 This is a very difficult question, which shows just how imprecise our definition of 'nation' has to be. My answer would be:

- A Ukrainians – very difficult to decide but probably 'Yes'
- B American Irish 'No'
- C Canadians 'Yes'
- D South Africans – again, very difficult but probably 'No'

The Ukrainians are one of the 'national groups' that make up the USSR. They have quite clear cultural and social characteristics, and within the Soviet framework of government, some control of local government.

But a query arises when we ask 'How would a Ukrainian identify himself if he were faced by a Pole or an American?' Would he identify in relation to the Soviet Union as a whole or would he stick to being a Ukrainian? Also, in the case of the Ukrainian, there seems to be no likelihood of a sovereign Ukrainian state and so the chances are that over time Ukrainians will increasingly identify with the Soviet Union as a whole.

American Irish – A sub-group of Americans as there are sub-groups in all nations.

Canadians – Despite the existence of the French speaking separatists, almost all Canadians would identify themselves as such.

South Africans – Like the Ukrainians this is a very difficult case. The 'apartheid' policy is designed to separate the various peoples of South Africa. According to government policy, South Africa is 'a multi-national state'. There is said to be one 'white nation', but several black nations – Zulu, Tswana, Xhosa, etc. (The South African Government rejects the concept of one African Nationalism. If the South African Government's policy succeeds these 'nations' will continue to identify

D100 Unit 24

themselves separately, but because of the existence of a central government for the South African state and an economy which draws people together, over time a South African nation could emerge.

- 4 1A and C; 2B and C; 3C; 4C

Again, there are problems of precise definition.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, two main national groups were brought together (there were some minority groups as well). When this was done, attempts were made by the government to develop a sense of common nationalism.

I would not consider Pakistan 'a nation' in 1947, but many people would question this. I consider that it was distinguished from India by religion and not by a common sense of national identity shared by both East and West Pakistan. There was a considerable movement of Muslims over the border.

- 5 This is another difficult question.

- A I think the state legislature of Utah should be recognised as part of the formal structure, because the USA is a federal state and the individual states are recognised as having their own government in the Constitution.
- B As mentioned in the text of the unit, I do not think the American parties are part of the formal structure.
- C The mayors of the major cities are in a different position as they are part of the local government structure and not the formal structure of the state, but very difficult to decide.
- D The army is another borderline case. It is mentioned in the Constitution, but I think it should be seen as a product, even a support of the structure, but not essentially part of the structure itself.

This is another question which is designed to show the difficulty of drawing absolutely clear demarcation lines.

- 6 A policies; B procedure; C participation.

- 7 1C; 2A; 3D; 4B

- 8 A; C; D

- 9 D – There must be some doubt about this answer because Rhodesia has racial divisions which fall outside the problems considered by Aristotle. Given that doubt, D fits most closely (see Reader pp. 424-25).

D100 Unit 24

- 10 1 charisma; 2 tradition; 3 charisma/legalistic; 4 legalistic/charisma (see Reader pp. 425-6).

Both De Gaulle and Churchill provide problems, but I think both had a strong mixture of both legalistic and charismatic qualities. In De Gaulle's case, the balance goes for charisma — he threw out a constitution he did not like — while for Churchill, the legalistic emphasis was more marked — a good House of Commons man.

- 11 B; C

Self-assessment Questions

D100

Unit 25

INFORMAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

- 1 Match each group in the left hand column with one of the statements in the right hand column.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| A informal political institution | D not normally mentioned in constitution |
| B political party | E seeks to influence public policy |
| C interest group | F concerned to control power |

- 2 Make a tick under the the prime area of activity involved for each of the items listed in the left hand column.

	Selecting people for public office	Communicating between the government and public	Providing direct services	Educating and informing the public	Acting as instruments of control and direction
1 A question in the House of Commons on the third London Airport					
2 Organised annual hike on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal					
3 A British Labour Club bar					
4 American party convention					
5 Expelling Mr Dubcek from the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia					

- 3 Which is a distinctive characteristic of political parties as opposed to interest groups?

- A They have consciously formulated policies
- B They have a bureaucracy and management structure
- C They seek to exercise actual power
- D They actively strive to increase their membership
- E They are flexible in their methods

D100 Unit 25

4 Which three questions might help most to distinguish between parties like the Russian Communist Party and parties in most West European and North American countries?

- A Does it present candidates for election?
- B Does it compete with other parties?
- C Is it subordinate to the state?
- D How does it recruit its members?
- E Does it give voice to public interests?

5 What are the uses of classifying and categorising?

- A Aids communication
- B Develops an abstract terminology
- C Highlights differences and similarities
- D Comes as a preliminary to identifying relationships
- E Tells more about the phenomena categorised

6 Insert a tick wherever the answer is yes, a question mark where you are uncertain.

	A Consciously trying to influence public policy?	B Associational?	C Institutional?	D Non-associational?	E Anomic?
1 Teamsters Union					
2 British Co-operative Movement					
3 The Kennedy family					
4 C and O Canal Association					
5 Boy Scouts					
6 Royal Air Force					
7 Demonstrations in front of the White House					
8 Sikhs in UK					

Self-assessment Questions

D100 Unit 25

- 7 Which is the most important way in which interest groups can seek to exercise an influence on public policy?
- A Acting directly on sources of power
 - B Canvassing for more members
 - C Ensuring adequate financial resources
 - D Combining with other similar interest groups
 - E Enlisting public support
 - F Linking up with political parties
- 8 Which of these techniques have been used by interest groups to influence public policy?
- A TV advertisements
 - B assassination
 - C mass petitions
 - D blackmail
 - E community singing
 - F bribery
- 9 Replace the dashes by words from the list below so as to make a meaningful sentence.
- Single _____ states need not necessarily be _____
 for although there can be no _____ between _____
 there may be _____ competition between _____
 candidates, with the _____ exercising some _____
 over the people who are to form the _____.
- competition keen rival party parties government
 electorate dictatorial choice

D100 Unit 25

ANSWERS

- 1 A-D B-F C-E

A is in a more inclusive category than B or C and thus it is true of some informal political institutions that they seek to control power and others that they seek to influence as opposed to control power. It is only true that E does not match B if influencing is set over against controlling and one asks which is the dominant objective. Finally, the word 'normally' is important in D because there are a number of constitutions that do mention parties of which the Constitution of Tanzania is one, as you will have noticed in the course narrative.

- 2 A possible answer to this would be as follows:

1B; 2D; 3C; 4A; 5E

Each activity, however, is relevant to more than one item and to decide which is the *prime* one depends partly on a personal judgement and partly on an answer to the question 'From whose point of view?' A question in the House of Commons, for instance, is an example of D as well as B (here D is a particular instance of B), and an American party convention besides selecting a party's presidential candidate, is also engaging in publicity on behalf of the candidate and party and thus educating and informing the public. The official purpose of a convention is to make a selection, but where the selection has already been settled in advance of the convention (as was effectively the case with the selection of Nixon as Republican candidate in 1960) the prime activity from the party's standpoint may well be to educate and inform the public.

- 3 C. In terms of the normal definition of party, this alone distinguishes them from interest groups.
- 4 Negatively neither A nor D are relevant; both sorts of parties present candidates in elections (even if they are the sole candidate), and there is great variation in the way parties recruit members. On the other hand, B and C are important for distinguishing them. E is the more problematical one, at least in the way that it is phrased for it could legitimately be claimed that both sorts of parties give voice to public interests. In the course narratives it has been suggested that a double question is needed here to help to distinguish parties of competition and parties of control, and it is then a matter of placing the party on a continuum that runs from articulating and aggregating public interests along to organising and controlling the public.

D100 Unit 25

- 5 A, C and D are uses. A because it means that people can communicate on the basis of general categories instead of having to detail each specific case.
C because in order to categorise and classify, particular instances have to be compared to see whether they are like and so attention is drawn to the differences and similarities.
D because having identified differences and similarities, it is appropriate to ask why these should be so and what it is that produces the particular effect.
B is not a valid purpose, though necessarily a category or classification is more abstract than a particular instance.
E is not true except in the sense that in the process of classifying and categorising, differences and similarities are perceived.

- 6 One possible answer would be as follows:

1A,B; 2A,B; 3?A,E; 4A,B; 5?A,B; 6?A,D; 7A,?E; 8?A,E

Without going into each one of these, let me give one or two reasons why I have put the marks I have. The question marks in column A indicate that in my understanding, each of these groups or organisations has, on occasion, sought in some way to influence public policy, but it is not a continuous and consistent purpose. Secondly, the demonstrations may be anomic, but they are more likely to be a way chosen by an associational interest group for seeking to influence public policy.

- 7 The alternatives are not like categories, A being distinct from the remainder. To influence public policy would necessarily involve acting to influence whoever has power to determine that policy. What will serve as the basis for influence will depend on the situation. Each of the alternatives B to F is a possible way of increasing the potential of an interest group to influence power holders successfully.
- 8 All of them, and this illustrates something of the variety of techniques available and used. Perhaps you would care to go on to think of instances where each of these techniques has been used.
- 9 Single party states need not necessarily be dictatorial, for although there can be no competition between parties there may be keen competition between rival candidates, with the electorate exercising some choice over the people who are to form the government.

2. A, C and D are true. A because it means that people can communicate on the basis of general categories instead of having to detail each specific case.
C because in order to categorise and classify, particular instances have to be compared to see whether they are like and so attention is drawn to the differences and similarities.
D because having identified differences and similarities, it is appropriate to ask why these should be so and what it is that produces the particular effect.
B is not a valid purpose, though necessarily a category or classification is more abstract than a particular instance.
E is not true except in the sense that in the process of classifying and categorising differences and similarities are perceived.

3. One possible answer would be as follows:

TABLE 2A.1: STATE, 1981-1982, 1983-1984, 1985-1986, 1987-1988, 1989-1990

Without going into each one of them, it is clear that the two reasons why I have put the results I have. The question marks in column A indicate that in my understanding each of these groups or organisations has, on occasion, sought in some way to influence public policy, but it is not a continuous and consistent purpose. Secondly, the organisations may be economic, but they are more likely to be a very close by an associational interest group for seeking to influence public policy.

7. The alternatives are not like categories. A policy decided from the remainder. To influence public policy would necessarily involve a way to influence whoever has power to determine that policy. What will serve as the basis for influence will depend on the situation. Each of the alternatives B to F is a possible way of describing the potential of an interest group to influence power holders successfully.

8. All of them, and this illustrates something of the variety of techniques available and used. Perhaps you would care to go on to think of instances where each of these techniques has been used.

9. Single party states need not necessarily be dictatorial, for although there can be no competition between parties there may be keen competition between rival candidates with the electorate exercising some choice over the people who are to form the government.

Self-assessment Questions

D100

Unit 26

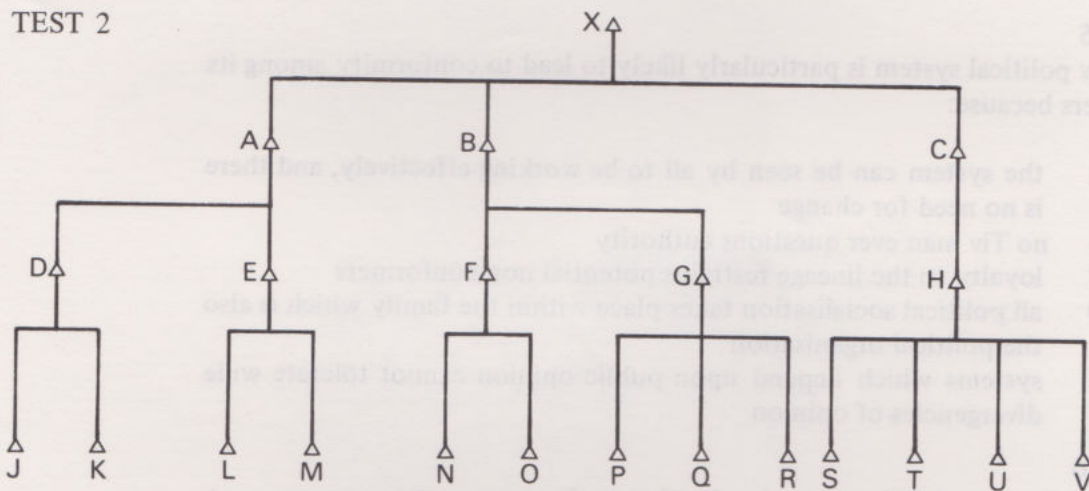
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS WITHOUT THE STATE

TEST 1

Which of these descriptions of a social anthropologist are true?

- A a special kind of sociologist
- B a special kind of anthropologist
- C principally concerned with 'primitive' societies
- D concerned with all societies
- E principally concerned with industrial societies

TEST 2



In the event of a conflict between K and R, write down all the letters symbolising:

K's lineage

R's lineage

Possible sources of public opinion

TEST 3

In the same kinship diagram as for 2, in the event of a conflict between K and L:

K's lineage would consist of

L's lineage would consist of

D100 Unit 26

TEST 4

The main objective of a moot among the Tiv might best be described in one word as:

- A justice
- B deterrence
- C peace
- D reformation
- E retribution

TEST 5

The Tiv political system is particularly likely to lead to conformity among its members because:

- A the system can be seen by all to be working effectively, and there is no need for change
- B no Tiv man ever questions authority
- C loyalty to the lineage restrains potential non-conformers
- D all political socialisation takes place within the family which is also the political organisation
- E systems which depend upon public opinion cannot tolerate wide divergencies of opinion

TEST 6

If the Liberal and Labour parties decided to form a coalition government, this would be equivalent to among the Tiv. If the left-wing Labour members broke away this would, similarly, be equivalent to

TEST 7

Which of these would not be found in a stateless society?

- A recognised leaders
- B political groups
- C paid officials
- D acknowledged chiefs
- E council meetings
- F centralised power
- G interest groups

Self-assessment Questions

D100 Unit 26

TEST 8

Classify the following political phenomena by making ticks under the appropriate headings.

	Interest articulation	Socialisation and education	Rule adjudication
A football crowd booing			
A football referee whistling			
A football coach advising			
Factory safety posters			
Factory accident enquiries			
Factory suggestion boxes			

ANSWERS AND DISCUSSION

1 A, B, C, or D. *Not* E

The precise answer to the question is very much a matter of opinion. Most people would probably say C, since it is true that the main field of interest of social anthropologists has tended to be the societies termed 'primitive'; however a number of people who would call themselves 'social anthropologists' have studied aspects of industrial societies, chiefly at a face-to-face and relatively small-scale level. C is therefore correct, but perhaps needs a little qualification.

According to many people (including myself), A is also true: a social anthropologist is the kind of sociologist who (a) is interested mainly in small-scale non-literate societies and/or (b) takes an interest in comparative sociology, i.e. including non-industrial as well as industrial societies. The artificial division in the past between sociology and social anthropology has been supported by established interests (separate university departments, for instance, which naturally want to continue in existence!) but has, in this view, no *academic* justification in terms of either subject matter or methods.¹ This is the approach that is generally taken in the present course. (See p. 81 in the correspondence text and Unit 5, p. 115.) It is however a matter of controversy, and not all scholars would agree with A.

B is also correct, for besides *social* anthropology there is also a subject called *physical* anthropology which is a branch of human biology, concerned with the physical development of man. It is usually taught and practised quite separately from social anthropology.

Some would also claim that D was true. In fact one definition of social anthropology is 'comparative sociology'. A number of social anthropologists would take the line that theirs is the only subject truly concerned with a comparison of *all* societies (unlike sociology which they would claim, narrowly confines itself to Western societies). Many other social scientists however would vehemently reject such a claim. It is true too, that though some who call themselves social anthropologists take a very comparative approach, many tend to confine their focus of interest to non-industrial societies. Clearly either to choose or to avoid the answer D will involve you in controversy!

E is incorrect by any standard.

¹ See, for example, in the radio programme how 'participant observation' can be used both by someone normally classed as a social anthropologist and someone who is classed as a sociologist.

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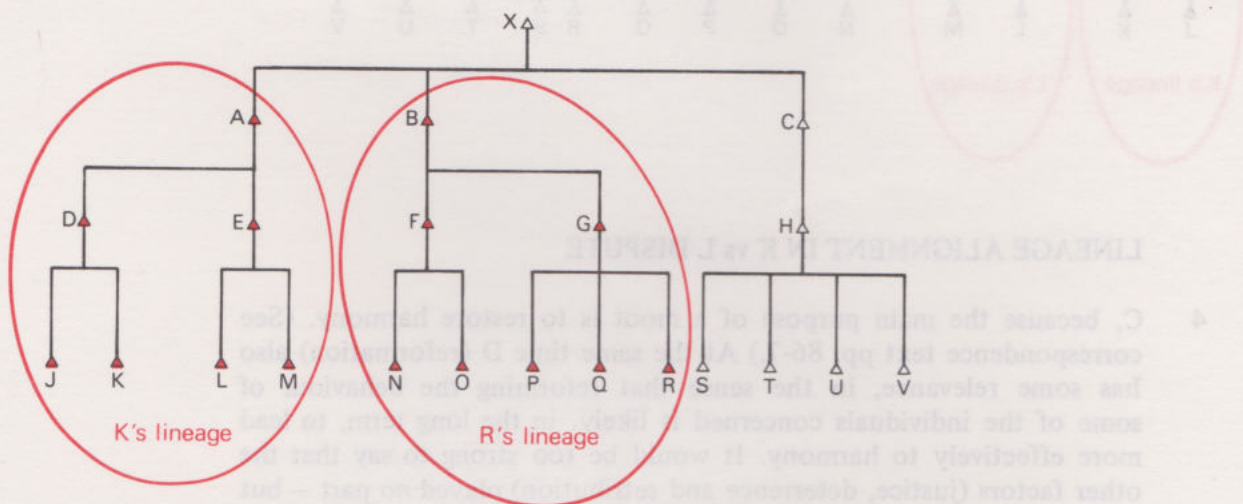
2 K's lineage would be:

A, D, E, J, K, L and M

R's lineage would be:

B, F, G, N, O, P, Q and R

A diagram may help to make this clear if you are at all confused.



LINEAGE ALIGNMENT IN K vs R DISPUTE

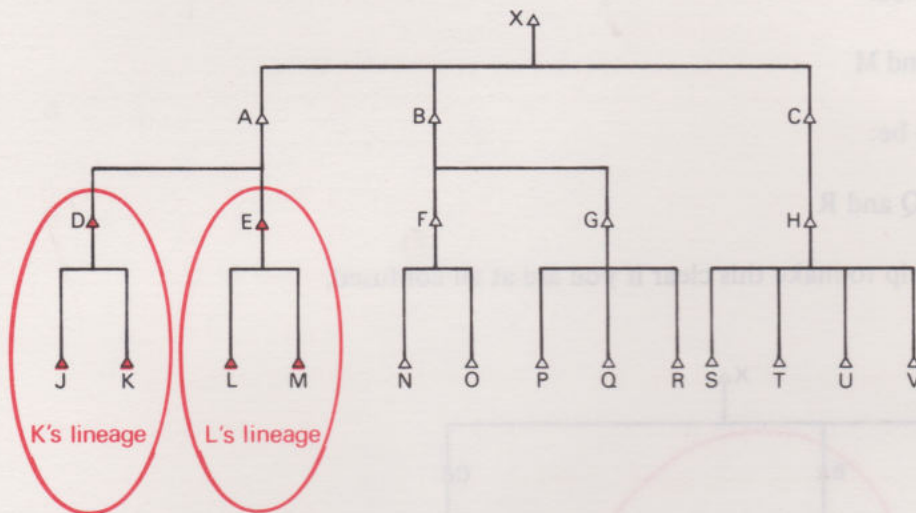
Possible sources of public opinion would be:

All the people on the diagram. Alternatively, if you interpret the question as meaning 'public opinion *outside* the lineages involved', then X, C, H, S, T, U and V.

NOTE To find the lineage members who would support a given person (here K) in a quarrel, trace back the patrilineal family tree (i.e. relations traced through the male line) until you reach the *last* male ancestor not shared by the opponent (here R); in the case of K (in a dispute with R) this ancestor will be A; K's lineage will therefore be A and all his patrilineal descendents. Similarly, R's lineage for this purpose will be B and all his patrilineal descendents. (On the processes of lineage alignment, see correspondence text pp. 84-9 and Reader p. 473 ff.)

3 K's lineage would consist of: D, J, K, (i.e. all those patrilineally descended from D).

L's lineage would consist of: E, L, M (i.e. all those patrilineally descended from E). See note to question 2 on how to work these out.



LINEAGE ALIGNMENT IN K vs L DISPUTE

- 4 C, because the main purpose of a moot is to restore harmony. (See correspondence text pp. 86-7.) At the same time D (reformation) also has some relevance, in the sense that reforming the behaviour of some of the individuals concerned is likely, in the long term, to lead more effectively to harmony. It would be too strong to say that the other factors (justice, deterrence and retribution) played *no* part – but the question did ask for the ‘main objective’, so C is the most correct answer.
- 5 D is probably nearest to the truth; early socialisation and loyalty tend to go very deep. There is some truth to C, but this will be effective only if there is a dispute between one’s own lineage (or lineage section) and another, when one’s loyalty will come into play; the rest of the time there is plenty of opportunity for disputing and refusal to conform. A has a minor degree of truth, in that there seems¹ not to be a radical move to upset the whole system – so no change in this revolutionary sense. At the same time, there *is* constant change in other smaller ways, e.g. the opportunities for self-advancement, the varying uses of money, the spread of education and so on. In fact, the implication in the question that there is more conformity in the Tiv system than in many others is somewhat misleading – or, at best, ambiguous.

¹ From the available evidence, which is not full or conclusive.

D100 Unit 26

E is rather elusive in meaning, but looks more like a possible *consequence* than a cause of conformity.

B is the opposite of the truth (see, for example, correspondence text pp. 86-7; television notes p. 2).

- 6 'If the Liberal and Labour parties decided to form a coalition government, this would be equivalent to FUSION among the Tiv. If the left wing members broke away this would, similarly, be equivalent to FISSION.'

On the concepts of 'fission' and 'fusion' see correspondence text pp. 88, 93-4.

- 7 C, D, F (See correspondence text pp. 81-2, 89.)

E is a disputed factor; some would call the Cheyenne for example (where there were councils but no centralised power) a 'stateless' society, whereas others would not (because of the existence of councils). This illustrates again that the idea of stateless society is a relative one and that there are a number of cases which fall in the middle of the continuum between 'state' and 'stateless' where it is not always easy to decide precisely which group a particular example should belong to.

In a more sophisticated way, D ('acknowledged chiefs') might also cause some dispute, because if what were called chiefs were really *priests*, or leaders only in a religious sense, then they are hardly political chiefs and the society might still be stateless. (This in fact seems to be the case with the Nuer, where their priests were wrongly given the title of chiefs by the central administration, who did not realise that their influence was purely religious.) However in the normal and straightforward sense of 'acknowledged chiefs', one would not expect to find them in a stateless society.

8

	Interest articulation	Socialisation and education	Rule Adjudication
A football crowd booing	✓	?	✓
A football referee whistling			✓
A football coach advising		✓	
Factory safety posters		✓	
Factory accident enquiries			✓
Factory suggestion boxes	✓		

Some of the answers here are possibly open to dispute and by regarding the categories from particular viewpoints you may be able to justify other answers. The point of the question is, of course, to test your understanding of and ability to apply the concepts along the top ('interest articulation' etc.) rather than the details of footballing or factories as such.

Some comments on particular answers are as follows:

A football crowd booing may affect the referee's decision so (besides the obvious interest articulation – the crowd joining to express its interest or support) I have ticked 'rule adjudication'. Children in the crowd *may*, through this experience, learn to support one side and behave in a certain way (or be reinforced in this), so possibly socialisation and education are relevant.

On the concepts of 'interest articulation', 'rule adjudication' and 'socialisation' see correspondence text: pp. 85, 89.

Self-assessment Questions

D100

Unit 27(i)

POLITICAL CULTURE

- 1 Indicate by means of ticks which of Almond and Verba's four dimensions for political attitudes could be exemplified in the political statements quoted.

	A Attitudes towards the formal structure of government	B Attitudes towards the men who fill governmental roles	C Attitudes towards particular policies	D Attitudes towards the part that the individual can play
1 'There's nothing to choose between them; they're all crooks'				
2 'We want proportional representation'				
3 'Home Rule for Scotland'				
4 'No arms for South Africa'				
5 'Yours faithfully, DISGUSTED RATEPAYER'				

D100 Unit 27(i)

2 Which kind of culture does each example belong to?

	A Parochial	B Subject	C Participant
1 Inhabitants of cities in the USSR who are not members of the Communist Party			
2 The bushmen			
3 Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland 1959			
4 Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland 1970			

3 Which of these groups can be identified as a sub-culture in Britain?

- A Roman Catholics
- B coloured people
- C Rotarians
- D Pakistani immigrants
- E cockneys

D100

Unit 27(ii)

POLITICS AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- 1 Which is the *narrowest* view of political activity?
 - A It is concerned with the power to punish
 - B It is concerned with the exercise of authority
 - C It is concerned with the use of legitimate force
 - D It is concerned with the powers of the state
- 2 Which of the above views is being followed in the second part of this unit?
- 3 Replace each of the dashes by a word from the following list, so as to make a meaningful statement.

An _____ of the whole political _____ in a society can be reached by _____ the formal _____, the informal _____ and the political _____ and the ways in which these _____ with each other.

political analysis interact understanding analysing system
culture institutions

- 4 Three principal advantages of regarding politics in society as a political system are:
 - A you do not waste time on the elements, which are unimportant in themselves
 - B attention is focussed on functions rather than particular institutions
 - C it facilitates comparisons between societies
 - D it necessarily involves a close examination of the links between the parts
 - E it emphasises that the picture is not a fixed one, but always changing
 - F it draws attention to the range of effects of a change in some particular part

D100 Unit 27

ANSWERS

Unit 27(i)

- 1 1B; 2A and D
3A, B, C and D – I think all of these attitudes *could* be involved; 4C;
5A, B, C and D
- 2 1B; 2A
3B and 4C; these are value loaded judgements, and you may disagree.
- 3 D

Unit 27(ii)

- 1 D is the narrowest, though a complex argument might be constructed to justify C. A and B are the broadest since they apply in a range of social institutions (as Dahl explains) beyond the state.
- 2 C
- 3 An understanding of the whole political system in a society can be reached by analysing the formal institutions, informal political institutions and the political culture and the ways in which these interact with each other.
- 4 C, D, and F are the three that I would emphasise. A could be positively untrue if it was taken to mean that the model of a political system indicated what was in practice important in a specific society. B is a point which, to the extent that it is true, involves an assessment that it is more valuable to study functions than institutions. With regard to E, it is a recurring criticism of particular models of the political system that they do just the opposite.

D100

Unit 28

POLITICS IN GROUPS

- 1 How many different (sometimes overlapping) groups are mentioned in the account of the Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union activities in 1942?
- 2 Which statements about the internal politics of political institutions are clearly true?
 - A They are exact replicas of the systems of which they are part
 - B They form a recognisable system within such organisations
 - C They are of great internal interest and little external importance
 - D They exhibit some evidence of regularity of pattern
 - E They predetermine the operations of the wider system
- 3 Match each study with one subject area (or 'discipline') to which it might be assigned.
 - A stateless societies
 - B actual governmental practice
 - C the theory of how governments should operate
 - D the study of non-political groups
 - E sociology
 - F social anthropology
 - G political philosophy
 - H political science
- 4 What is the critical consideration which distinguishes politics at the state level from politics in non-political groups?
 - A the achievement and use of power
 - B the existence of a fixed legal framework within which to operate
 - C the external direction of all political activities
 - D the exercise of legitimate force
- 5 Although not specifically mentioned, the argument in this unit would indicate that the BBC has an internal political system of its own. How do you think this can be reconciled with the BBC's need to stand apart from party politics?
 - A The internal system can be strictly isolated from party politics
 - B The internal system can be carefully balanced between parties
 - C The internal system cannot be prevented from interacting with party politics
 - D The internal system can be carefully neutralised at times like elections

ANSWERS

- 1 The three groups particularly distinguished are the pro-European group within the RRWU, the socialist group and the non-political white-collar group. There is room for argument as to whether the two labour parties are to be regarded as two groups. The account of the activities of the union leaders suggests the question of whether they also should be regarded as a group.
- 2 None are unquestionably true. They are presented as generalisations about what is the situation in all political institutions, and in this regard A is definitely untrue (otherwise all political institutions within a particular system would be identical, and this is clearly not the case with the Democratic and Republican parties to take one example). With B this may be true, but it is also true on occasion that there is insufficient regularity for a stable system to be identified. Again with C this may be true but the internal politics of the Railway Union in Southern Rhodesia were of considerable national importance. D, as with B may – but only *may* – be true, and E is untrue (they may affect, but they do not inevitably predetermine).
- 3 One answer to this might be:

A-F B-H C-G D-E

but attempting such a pairing should also emphasise how inadequate and unreal are attempts to mark out firm boundaries for subjects or areas of study. The relevance and relationship of all the first four to each of the last could be argued. Perhaps you would care to consider how they would be justified.

- 4 Almond's answer would be D, and it would probably be justified in preference to B on the grounds that, as Sartori's article in the Reader and Unit 25 indicated, politics at the state level may not operate within a fixed legal framework. But in what sense is it legitimate? What makes the force legitimate? Is it the law or popular acceptance?
- 5 This is a fascinating and complex question and to do justice to it would require an extended discussion. C obviously involves no reconciliation. Otherwise, a great deal depends first on how the problem is defined (is it that people in general must think that the BBC stands apart, or is there some objective state of standing apart? what is standing apart? what is party politics? secondly, it depends on what is judged to be practicable, and thirdly on how a series of values that impinge on the issue are to be treated (do the news staff have a responsibility to determine what is news-worthy and how it should be presented; should individuals be denied the right to participate on an individual basis in election campaigns or to stand as candidates?) Recognising the existence and potential effect of the internal political system in an organisation leads on to some issues of far-reaching significance.

D100

Radio Programme 24

FORMAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT – THE RHODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT

The Rhodesian Constitution of 1961 is used as a case study to underline and expand some points which have been made in the correspondence text. The following notes are a brief summary of the ground covered in the programme.

All constitutions are based on attempts to implement certain principles. In Rhodesia the most contentious principles concerned (a) who had the right to participate in government by voting and sitting in the Legislative Assembly? and (b) what limits should be set on the government?

Ian Smith and his Rhodesian Front Party eventually rejected the 1961 Constitution because it did not further their broad aims. In particular, they did not want African majority rule, and they resented the constitutional limitations by which Britain retained reserve powers and by which the Bill of Rights attempted to guarantee certain individual rights by limiting the powers of the government.

In negotiating the 1961 Constitution, four different groups were involved: the British Government, the Rhodesian Government, the African Nationalists and the right wing European party. Each group had different broad aims.

The British Government: the British wanted to see increasing African participation in government, leading to majority rule. At the same time, they wanted to see racial co-operation ('partnership') in sharing political power.

The membership of the Legislative Assembly was designed to try to achieve these British aims. There were to be sixty-five members returned by two voters' rolls as follows:

'A roll' returning fifty MPs

'B roll' returning fifteen MPs¹

Initially, the 'A roll' would be predominantly white and so the whites would largely have control of fifty seats, while the Africans (mainly 'B roll') would have fifteen seats. In time, as Africans gained more qualifications so they would move into the 'A roll' and eventually majority rule would be achieved.

In addition, the British had checking devices built into the Constitution: (a) they retained reserve powers; (b) the Constitution could not be amended without the agreement of two-thirds of the Legislative Assembly and amendments to some of the most important clauses required not only the two-thirds majority, but also the agreement of the British Government (or a referendum covering all races).

¹ There were cross-voting rights but that is too complex to explain here.

D100 Radio Programme 24

The Rhodesian Government of the day (Sir Edgar Whitehead's United Federal Party) was in broad agreement with the British aims. It wanted the vote restricted to those with 'a stake in the country', and this view was reflected in the qualification for the vote — a combination of educational, income and property qualifications.

The African Nationalists: they wanted African majority rule and rejected the 1961 Constitution because they did not think that it would guarantee this. They thought that it left Africans in a subordinate position, and that the fifteen 'B roll' seats were inadequate to safeguard African interests. Because it was not a safeguard they wanted to retain British reserve powers as a checking device on the white government. They thought the Constitution gave Africans *too little*.

The right wing white party: in 1961 this was the Dominion Party but in 1962 it was transformed into the Rhodesian Front. It wanted independence from Britain with minority white rule. The members of this party disliked the Constitution because it gave Africans *too much* participation in government. They were able to undermine its aims by fighting the 1962 election and winning a majority in the Legislative Assembly through their success in gaining 'A roll' seats.

After 1962 a white minority government was in power which was committed to aims which conflicted with those built into the Constitution. The government became increasingly frustrated by this and by the limitations it faced in the Constitution. Eventually, it decided to overthrow the Constitution in 1965 when it unilaterally declared independence.

D100

Radio Programme 25

INTEREST GROUPS: THE BANE OR BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

This programme has two objectives. The first is to explore certain judgements about whether the existence and functioning of interest groups is a decisively important support for the working of democratic government, or, at the other extreme, whether they are a major obstacle to its effective working. The second purpose is to encourage you to approach theories and judgements in this field with a critical enquiring mind.

The correspondence narrative introduces you to interest groups – or pressure groups as some prefer to call them – and it is advisable for you to come to the radio programme having read this material. In this way you will appreciate the context of the issue considered in this programme.

The two books discussed in the programme are:

J. S. Mill, 'Representative Government' in *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*, London, Everyman ed., 1906.

D. B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

The extended quotation about American interest groups is from:

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

Broadcast Notes

Radio Program 23

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Radio Program 23

INTEREST GROUPS: THE BANE OR BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

This program has two objectives. The first is to explore certain judgments about whether the existence and functioning of interest groups is a decisively important support for the working of democratic government, or, at the other extreme, whether they are a major obstacle to its effective working. The second purpose is to encourage you to approach these judgments in this field with a critical open-minded mind. The correspondence narrative instructs you to select groups or pressure groups as some prefer to call them, and it is advisable for you to come to the radio program having read this material in this way you will appreciate the context of the issue considered in this program.

The two books discussed in the program are:
1. S. M. R. 'Representative Government in Britain', 1952.
D. B. Truman, 'The Governmental Process', New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

The extended quotation about American interest groups is from:
E. E. Schattschneider, 'The Semi-Sovereign People', New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

D100

Radio Programme 26

OBSERVING SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Important: consult these notes before listening

This programme is constructed differently from some others. The assessment of the relevance and significance of the material in it is purposely not neatly summarised in the programme itself but is a student responsibility. In other words the programme is not presented in an already digested form for mere reception, but is intended to give you the opportunity to make up your own minds on it by referring first to a set of questions. You may well find that this helps you to listen in a more active and constructive way.

You should therefore read through the following questions *before the programme* and keep them handy during it. Decide on your answers after you have heard the programme (you will have to allow some time for this); you may find discussion with fellow students illuminating. *After this* you may care to see (on p. 3) how I myself (Ruth Finnegan) would have answered Part A. The answers to Part B are left to your own listening.

I Read before the programme

A On the purpose of the programme

What contribution (if any) does this programme make to the course as a whole and/or Block 6 of the course and/or Unit 26?

Here are some possible answers to glance at before the programme. You may well find others.

- 1 The programme discusses a method which you will be making use of in one of the possible assignments for this block.
- 2 It alerts you to a basic controversy about the philosophy of the social sciences.
- 3 It is an opportunity to hear two very famous social scientists.
- 4 It discusses an important method in the social sciences which is relatively neglected in the course as a whole.
- 5 It illustrates the limitations of one particular research method (participant observation) in the social sciences.
- 6 It gives some background to the kind of research methods on which information about 'stateless societies' (the subject of Unit 26) is often based.
- 7 It is merely a platform for Ruth Finnegan to push her own opinion about certain controversies.

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B On the detailed content of the programme

(On this section you will probably find it most helpful to jot down quick one-word notes as you listen, which you can expand and perhaps discuss later.)

- (a) What significant points does Professor Evans-Pritchard make in favour of participant observation as a method?
- (b) What significant points does Professor Dalton make in favour of participant observation as a method?
- (c) What significant points do either of them make about the limitations or drawbacks of participant observation?

II For reference – read at any point

Here are some further references to works by the two speakers in the programme and on participant observation.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940 (an account of a stateless society in the Southern Sudan which has had a great influence on all later work on the subject).

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Social anthropology: past and present' in *Selected Essays in Social Anthropology*, London, Faber and Faber, 1962 (discusses, among other things, Evans-Pritchard's view of social anthropology as more akin to the humanities than the natural sciences).

M. Dalton, *Men who manage*, New York, Wiley, 1959 (a classic account of relations and conflicts between factory managers; includes appendix on methods).

M. Dalton, 'Preconceptions and Methods in Men Who Manage' in P. E. Hammond (ed.) *Sociologists at work*, New York, Basic Books, 1964 (a detailed and perceptive account of Dalton's methods).

Participant observation

P. Worsley (ed.) *Introducing sociology*, Penguin, 1970 (set book) Chapter 2 (pp. 92-7 in particular give a brief but useful account of participant observation).

M. Stacey, *Methods of social research*, Pergamon, 1969, Chapter 4 (another useful brief account).

A. Cicourel, *Method and measurement in sociology*, Free Press, 1964 (includes a more detailed and advanced consideration of participant observation).

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G. J. McCall and J. L. Simmons (eds.) *Issues in participant observation: a text and reader*, Addison-Wesley, 1969.

III Read after working through Section I

Here are my comments on the possible answers to Section I4 on the purpose of this programme.

In general I would say there was *some* truth in all them. I would particularly stress answers 1, 2, 4 and 6.

Here are what would be my own personal answers to the questions with some comments. If yours are different you may care to work out why you disagree – but there is no reason why you should necessarily agree.

The main contributions I see the programme as making are (according to number of suggested answers on pp. 1-2):

- 1 (to block)
- 2 (to course as a whole)
- 4 (to course as a whole)
- 6 (to Unit 26)

If I had to rank these I *think* I would put them in the order 4, 2, 6 and 1, but I am uncertain since I see all four going closely together.

I think actually there is something to be said for all of the possible answers – at least looked at from certain viewpoints. So here are some comments on each.

- 1 This is clearly one relevant contribution of the programme. It will probably make you aware (or more aware) that the method which you will be using in one of your possible assignments for this block is a well-recognised method in the social sciences, one with its own advantages and drawbacks. On the other hand, the programme does no more than alert one to certain aspects of the method of participant observation. It does not give a full or systematic account. For further references see Section II above (particularly the convenient account in Worsley, 1970, pp. 92-7).
- 2 This is an important controversy in social science. To put it briefly there are first, those who emphasise its analogy with 'the natural sciences' (or rather with one particular model of the natural sciences) in the sense that they are aiming at drawing up precisely defined 'laws', specified as far as possible in quantitative terms (with consequent stress on survey techniques), and verifying specific 'hypotheses' by reference to the facts. This is sometimes known as the 'positivist' approach. Second there is the other group (who would, broadly, include both

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Evans-Pritchard and Dalton) who see their subjects as much more akin to the humanities and who reject the positivist model of the natural sciences as being inappropriate to the study of society or, sometimes, as being an inaccurate picture even of the procedures of natural scientists. This group tends to be more interested in so-called 'qualitative' research methods, like participant observation.

There is not much in our course which directly treats this controversy (though it is alluded to in the first five radio programmes and implicitly elsewhere), but it is important to realise that it exists, despite the impossibility of treating it at length here. It could be argued that the implicit references to it in the course¹ tend to give somewhat more stress to the positivist approach – and if so, the statements by Dalton and Evans-Pritchard may help to redress the balance!

- 3 This is perhaps not a central aim but in terms of content you will probably find that it adds life to the material to actually hear two distinguished social scientists talking in personal (rather than abstract) terms about their actual experience in research. (We in fact think it rather a scoop to have got these two speakers to the microphone for you.) It may also be a useful reminder that generalisations about method etc. are not god-given or self-evident, but created and expressed through the personal experience of people like these.
- 4 (cf. comment on 2 above) There is great emphasis nowadays on *survey methods* and *quantification* in the social sciences in both Britain and America and this naturally comes out in our course. In this programme, however, it is pointed out that this emphasis can be overdone and that there are limitations in such methods. The two speakers make the case for the method of participant observation, where quantification for its own sake is not normally so stressed. They do not however try to give a comprehensive account of this method; for further reading on this see references on pp. 2-3.
- 5 The limitations of participant observation are not directly treated in the programme (except for one brief passage by Dalton); the speakers are more concerned in the programme (as they have been in their writings generally) to stress the merits of a method they feel has often been unduly neglected. Those who are unsympathetic to this method may well feel that its disadvantages come out even in these accounts (you may care to consider this point yourself), whereas others will find them very convincing. Further remarks on the limitations as well as advantages of the method can be found in the reading referred to.

¹ And the explicit quotation from Barbara Wootton in the course description in the Prospectus 'our methods approximate ever more closely to those of the natural sciences'. (Open University, *Prospectus 1971*, p. 47.)

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- 6 Yes, it certainly helps to assess the evidence (on the stateless nature of Nuer society, for instance) if one knows something of the laborious and personal way in which the material was collected.
- 7 My colleagues may well think this – just as I might want to say the same of some of their programmes! The point, of course, is that any academic subject is marked by controversies on which academics inevitably take up one side or the other side – and which side *you* favour can only be decided by yourself. This may help to remind you too of something you will doubtless be increasingly aware of: that ‘truth’ is not single or authoritative (even if we do send material out to you in neat agreed-looking packages), but that the material we present to you represents individuals’ positions on a number of different controversies, whether we are open about this or not!

6 Yes, it certainly helps to assess the evidence for the status of
 Most society, for instance, if one knows something of the history and
 personal way in which the material was collected.

7 My colleagues may well think this - but as I might want to say the
 same of some of their programmes. The point of course is that any
 academic subject is marked by controversy on which students
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 'truth' is not single or authoritative (even if we do send material out to
 you in neat agreed-looking packages), but that the material we present
 to you represents different positions on a number of different
 controversies, whether we are even aware of them or not.

D100

Radio Programme 27

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION – A RESEARCH PROJECT INTO THE ATTITUDES OF SCHOOLCHILDREN

Please read the offprint by D. McQuail *et al.* 'Elite Education and Political Values' *before* listening to the programme.

Please have open in front of you during the programme the bar charts which are on pages 4 and 5.

The programme examines one aspect of political socialisation – the impact of different types of schools – by examining an ongoing piece of research.

There is a well-established folklore about the influence of British schools on political attitudes, and scholars have also made broad generalisations about their influence. For example, in the programme Richard Rose is quoted as saying that attendance at secondary modern schools appears to decrease a young person's political expectations.

Scholars are now trying to investigate whether the generalisations and the folklore stand up to examination, and the offprint of the paper by McQuail *et al.* gives the results of one small piece of research. That particular paper influenced Mrs Diddy Hitchins, who at the time the broadcast was made was part-way through her research, to ask some further questions.

Two of the questions Mrs Hitchins decided to examine were:

- (a) what is the influence of very different types of schools? (she thought McQuail's study was too narrowly based);
- (b) what is the influence of these schools as revealed by children of 14 and 15 years old? (McQuail had looked at sixth formers).

Therefore, for her research Mrs Hitchins chose a wide range of schools and drew them from different parts of England, including rural as well as urban schools.

The questions asked by Mrs Hitchins on which concentration was placed in the programme concerned 'authority', 'participation' and 'decision making'. She asked questions concerning the home and the school as well as the children's attitude towards wider political issues. This both eased the children into answering the questions and gave some impression of *latent* as well as *manifest* influences.

We then examined some of the results which were emerging from Mrs Hitchins' work and these results are contained in Figures 1 and 2. The main fact which apparently emerges from these early results of the research is that many children who feel confident of their ability to influence decisions at school do not necessarily feel confident about influencing wider political decisions. This is particularly true of the public school children who were questioned.

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In a discussion at the end of the programme with Mr Frank Castles, who is a lecturer at The Open University, the following points were raised.

- (a) The problem of deciding on the age at which to question children. Ideally, researchers would like to interview children over a wide age range as well as a wide background of schools and families, but life is short and research resources limited so scholars normally have to rely upon supplementing each other's work.
- (b) There are two broad approaches to investigating the importance of age in a child's attitudes. One approach is to examine children of different ages at a particular time, e.g. to examine the attitudes of say, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 17 year olds in 1971. Another approach is to follow the development of individuals, e.g. to investigate a group of 5 year olds in 1971, and then to examine the development of these same children at two year periods over the next ten years.
- (c) Frank Castles questioned the apparently surprising result that had emerged about the contrast in confidence to influence decisions in schools and outside schools. He suggested that the explanation of this could lie in the manifest influence of the schools in children absorbing what they had been told could be achieved. They may simply be echoing the views of their teachers that they will be able to influence political decision making.
- (d) However strongly the manifest influences may show up in the results, the latent influences — family, social norms and styles, etc. — are very important indeed.

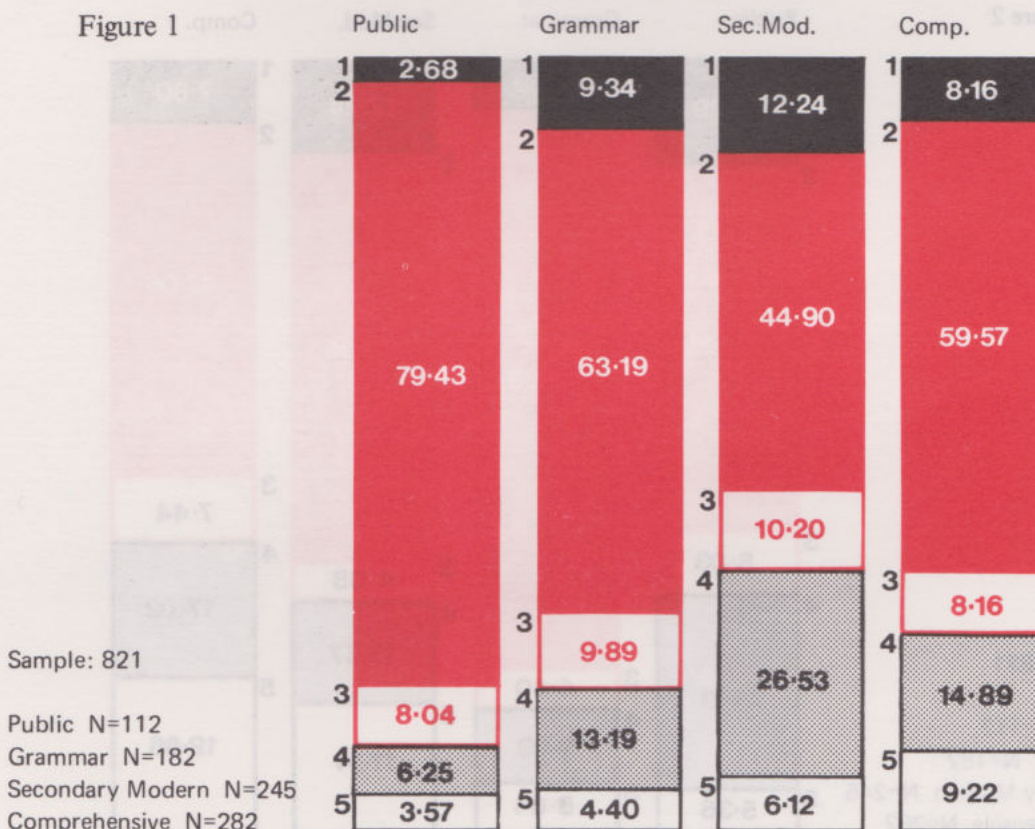
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Results and questionnaire survey on schoolchildren's attitudes

Q1 Imagine that a decision has been made in this school which most of the pupils consider to be unfair. What could the pupils do about it?

- 1 diffuse: protest, complain
- 2 consult head, consult staff, work through school council or accepted pupil organisation
- 3 strike militancy; use parents or other outside school figures; other
- 4 nothing
- 5 no answer or 'Don't Know'

Figure 1

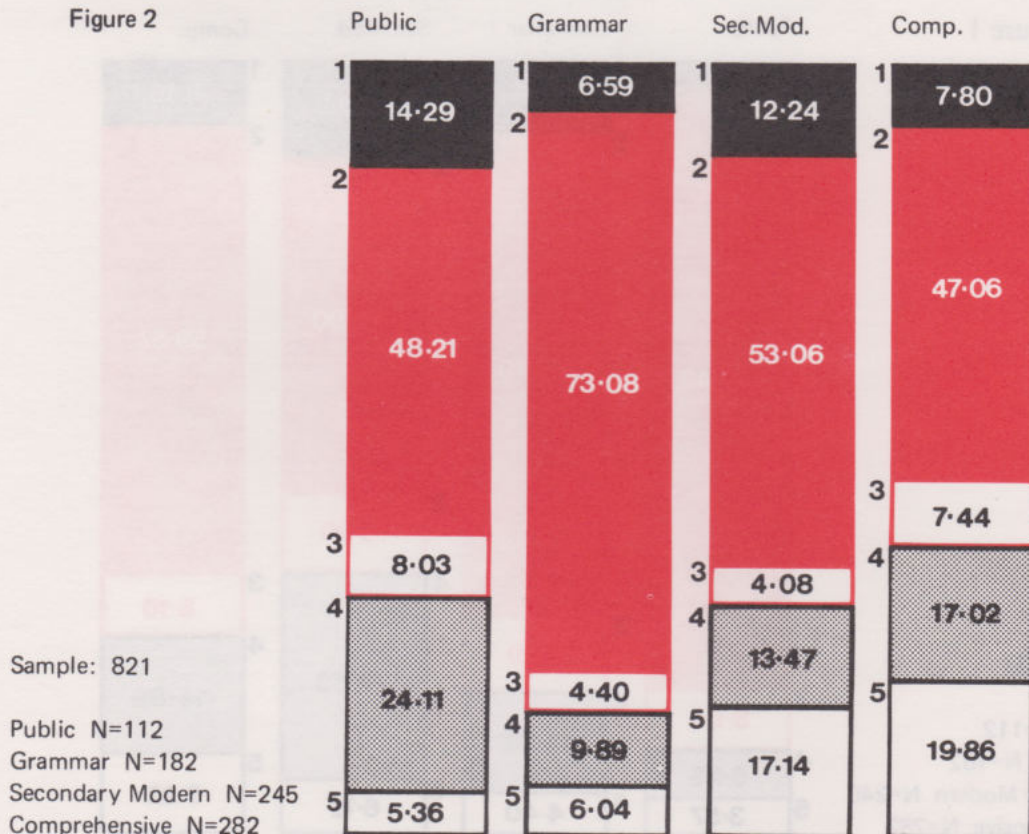


D100 Radio Programme 27

Q2 Imagine that a law was being considered by Parliament which someone like your parents considered to be unjust or harmful. What do you think that person could do about it?

- 1 diffuse: protest, complain
- 2 consult Member of Parliament, or organise petition or demonstration, write to a newspaper
- 3 use other political figure, e.g. Prime Minister; write to Queen; other
- 4 nothing
- 5 no answer or 'Don't Know'

Figure 2



D100

Radio Programme 28

REVIEW AND REVISION

This programme is not linked with Unit 28. Its function is to clarify problems that have been raised about earlier units.

Broadcast Notes

D100
Radio Programme 28
REVIEW AND REVISION

This programme is not linked with Unit 28. Its function is to clarify
problems that have been raised about earlier units.

D100
Television Programme 24
THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

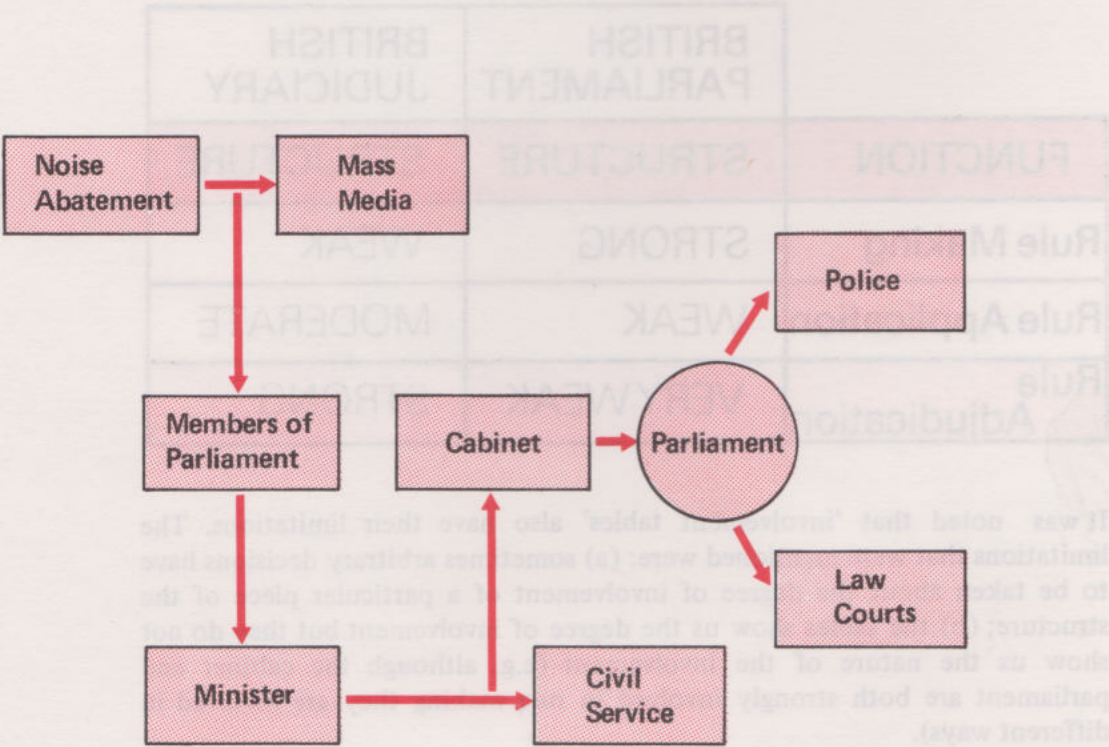
The TV programme is designed as part of the examination of the formal structure of government. In particular the programme concentrates on relating the structure of government to the functions performed by the government.

The examples used in the programme are confined to Britain and the United States of America.

The functions of government can be brought together into broad functional categories.

One of these categories is law making (now usually embraced in the broader and more flexible category of 'rule making').

Although in this country Parliament is the legitimiser of statute law, both before and after Parliamentary approval there is a complex process involved. This was demonstrated in the programme by a hypothetical example of a law against noisy motorbikes. A simplified diagram of the process involved was shown and is reproduced here.



D100 Television Programme 24

From examining the diagram three conclusions were drawn about law making: (a) that a complex process is involved; (b) that the process involves people and institutions inside and outside the formal structure of government; (c) within the formal structure of government more than the legislature (Parliament) is involved (e.g. the judiciary).

The classical division of government was then examined and as this is also examined in your correspondence text it is not repeated here.

In the programme examples were used to show overlapping in terms of function and structure in the American government. The American Constitution was modelled on the classical division of powers and yet in the examples used the President (the chief executive) is seen to play a part in law making and the President and Congress (Legislature) are both seen to play a part in shaping foreign policy.

It was then suggested that a better way of showing the relationship between structure and function was to draw up a table of involvement. A copy of the table used in the programme is reproduced here.

	BRITISH PARLIAMENT	BRITISH JUDICIARY
FUNCTION	STRUCTURE	STRUCTURE
Rule Making	STRONG	WEAK
Rule Application	WEAK	MODERATE
Rule Adjudication	VERY WEAK	STRONG

It was noted that 'involvement tables' also have their limitations. The limitations that were mentioned were: (a) sometimes arbitrary decisions have to be taken about the degree of involvement of a particular piece of the structure; (b) the tables show us the degree of involvement but they do not show us the nature of the involvement (e.g. although the cabinet and parliament are both strongly involved in rule making they are involved in different ways).

In the 'involvement table' used on the programme it was said that the more flexible terms of 'rule making, rule execution and rule adjudication' would be used. In fact it is more usual to speak of 'rule application' than 'rule execution', and so 'rule application' has been used in the table reproduced here.

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Television Programme 25

INFORMAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In these programmes you can study informal political processes at work in the United States. The two programmes are a pair and together they present a narrative case study of the activity that lay behind the passage in 1970-71 of a Bill to establish a national historical park for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The case study shows how the idea arose to establish an historical park, the way interest groups became involved, the methods they used to advance the measure, the obstacles in its path, and the conflicts between different groups and separate branches of government, and the manner in which the measure was eventually pushed and guided through Congress. The case study, in other words, concentrates on one episode and follows it through, providing in the process an understanding that complements the broad generalisations to be found in the course narratives and text books.

It is basic to a narrative case study that it presents documentary material in a way which provides an account of a course of events. Yet, to make it a coherent and intelligible account there must be a degree of selection and simplification, and this is even more true on television, where transmission time is necessarily so limited, than when a case study is presented in a written form. Moreover, the strength of the TV medium is that it can convey visual and aural images, but for this to be achieved effectively, so that points can be given their full weight, there has to be a concentration on a limited number of individuals and situations.

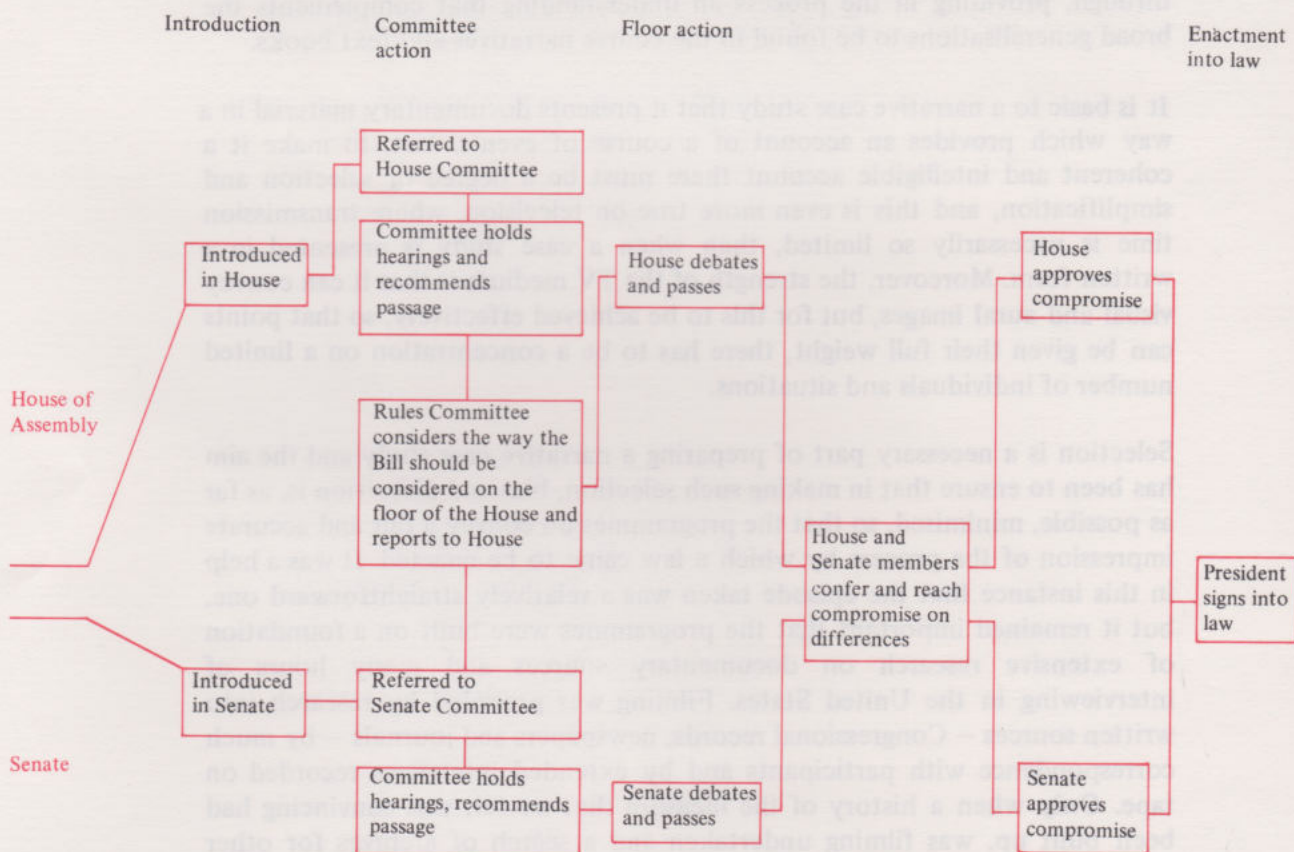
Selection is a necessary part of preparing a narrative case study and the aim has been to ensure that in making such selection, bias and distortion is, as far as possible, minimised, so that the programmes do convey a fair and accurate impression of the process by which a law came to be enacted. It was a help in this instance that the episode taken was a relatively straightforward one, but it remained important that the programmes were built on a foundation of extensive research on documentary sources and many hours of interviewing in the United States. Filming was preceded by research into written sources – Congressional records, newspapers and journals – by much correspondence with participants and by extended interviews recorded on tape. Only when a history of the measure that we felt was convincing had been built up, was filming undertaken and a search of archives for other audio-visual material put in train so that suitable material could be developed to convey an understanding of those stages and situations which appeared historically to be the most significant. The film and sound material has been prepared and fashioned to convey as accurate an impression as possible of the informal and formal processes involved in advancing this particular measure, and the programmes are presented therefore as a careful, if abbreviated, account of what was involved in securing the passage of the Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park Act.

The programmes are, then, narrative accounts of a recent historical episode. They are not designed to illustrate or exemplify anything more precise than the process of American politics. But as such they should provide you with a

D100 Television Programme 25

picture of politics that gives particular and deeper meaning to the abstractions and generalisations in the course narratives and text books.

Attached, you will find a list of the main speakers in the programmes; a list of important events connected with the Canal; a sketch map of the Canal, and an outline flow chart showing the way a Bill is introduced into Congress and becomes enacted into law, together with a brief verbal elaboration of the chart.



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Law making

The diagram on page 94 indicates a common way in which a law is made in the United States Congress. There are other ways which are more complicated and still others that are simpler, and most Bills introduced into Congress never become law.

Introduction

Bills are introduced into the House of Assembly and Senate by a House Member or Senator. The Bill is then numbered and referred to the appropriate committee with the sponsor's name. Technically, Bills are read a first time when they are referred to House Committees.

Committee action

Normally the first action on a Bill taken by a committee is to request a comment by the interested executive agencies of government. The Bill may then be considered in full committee or assigned initially to a sub-committee for study and hearings. If the Bill is considered by a sub-committee, the sub-committee reports with recommendations to the full committee. The full committee then votes on its recommendations to the House or Senate.

Floor action

After a Bill is reported back it requires debate and action, or simply action, in the House and Senate. Under normal procedure this is achieved by having the Bill placed on one of the calendars and after this is done attention is given to the measure when its turn comes. When the measure is not a routine one, or when House and Senate time is particularly short, or where urgent action is required, various special procedures can be invoked. In the House precedence is granted to a Bill if a special rule is obtained from the Rules Committee. A request for one is considered by the Committee in the same way as other Committees, and it reports to the House. The report may recommend special rules which specify the way in which the Bill should be taken, the amount of time to be allocated and so on. The House receives the Rules Committee's report, debates it and votes on it. Urgent action on a Bill can also be secured in ways that bypass the Rules Committee, one of which is to bring the Bill to the floor of the House under a suspension of the rules.

In the House and Senate votes may occur repeatedly on Bills before they are finally approved. Such votes may come on the rule for the Bill where this exists, on amendments, on a motion to recommit the Bill to committee, on third reading, and on final passage.

After a Bill is passed it is sent to the other chamber, where it may be passed, rejected, ignored or sent to committee. Alternatively the other chamber may proceed or have proceeded on a different version of the proposed legislation.

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If a Bill is passed with only minor changes the other house may agree to these in which case the Bill will be sent to the President. If substantial changes are made or a significantly different Bill is passed, a request is made for a conference to harmonise conflicting House and Senate versions of a Bill. The conference produces a report which must be submitted to each house and each house must either approve or disapprove the report and in so doing approve or reject the Bill.

When a Bill has passed both House and Senate it is sent for presidential action. The President may sign the Bill; he may not sign it in which case the Bill will nevertheless become law if ten days lapse and Congress is still in session. If however Congress ceases to be in session in this ten day period and the President does not sign a Bill, it does not become law. Finally the President may veto a Bill in which case it requires a two thirds vote in both houses to override his veto.

Broadcast Notes

D100 Television Programme 25

PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS

(in order of appearance)

Programme I

William O. Douglas	Justice of the Supreme Court
Colin Ritter	Past President, C and O Canal Association
Dr Spencer M. Smith	Secretary, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources
Hon. John P. Saylor	Congressman (Republican — Pennsylvania) Ranking Republican Member, House Interior Committee
Hon. Wayne N. Aspinall	Congressman (Democrat — Colorado) Chairman, House Interior Committee
Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr	Senior Senator from Maryland
Stewart M. Brandborg	Executive Director, The Wilderness Society
Anthony Wayne Smith	Past President, C and O Canal Association, also President, National Parks Association

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Programme II

William O. Douglas	Justice of the Supreme Court
Citizen from Brookmont, Maryland	
Stewart M. Brandborg	Executive Director, The Wilderness Society
Richard Calhoun	Vice Chairman, The Maryland Wilderness Society
Hon. Gilbert Gude	Congressman (Republican – Maryland) Representing the area through which the Canal ran
Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr	Senior Senator from Maryland
Carrie Johnson	Legislative Assistant to Senator Mathias
Russell E. Dickenson	Superintendent General of the National Capital Parks, National Parks Service, Department of the Interior
Hon. Wayne N. Aspinall	Congressman (Democrat – Colorado) Chairman, House Interior Committee
Hon. John P. Saylor	Congressman (Republican – Pennsylvania) Ranking Republican Member, House Interior Committee
Senator J. Glenn Beall	Junior Senator from Maryland
J. M. Andrews	Citizen from Monocacy, Maryland

CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL
OUTLINE CHRONOLOGY OF RELEVANT DATES

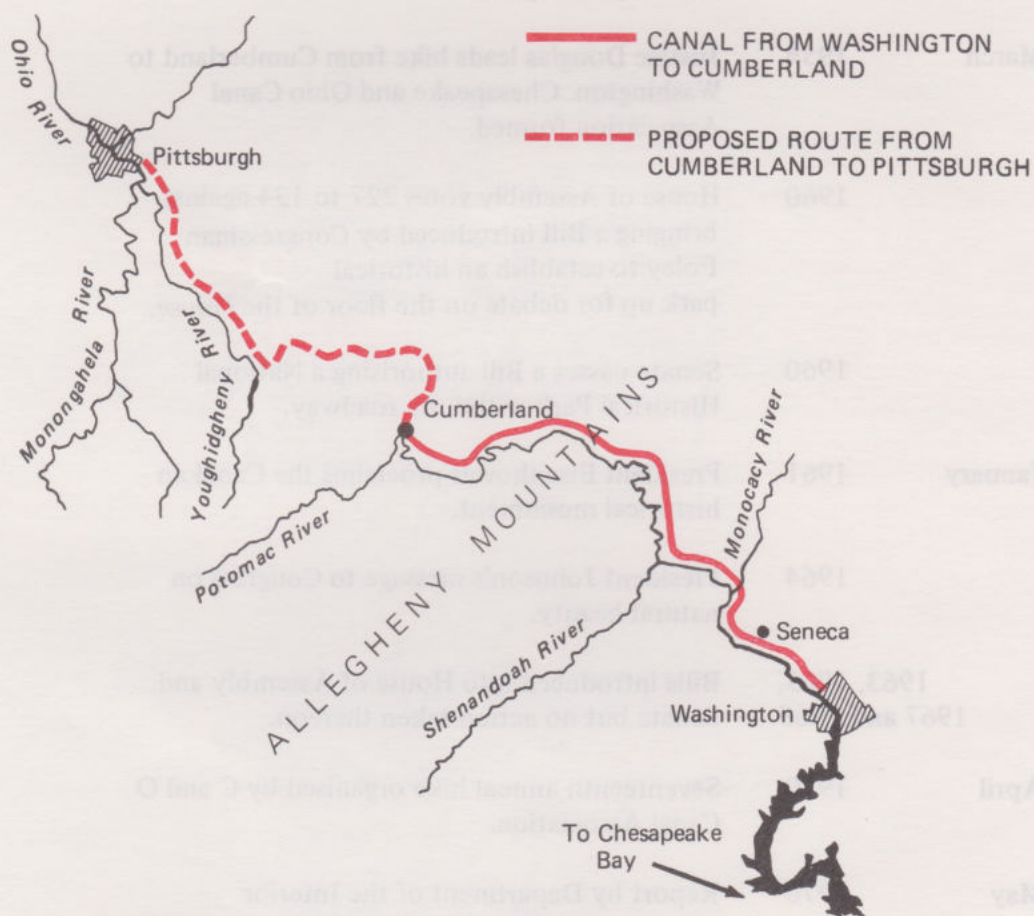
1784	George Washington founded a company to build a canal along the Potomac River.
1824	Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company incorporated.
1828	President John Quincy Adams digs the first sod.

Broadcast Notes

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	1850	Canal opened.
	1924	Canal flooded, operation suspended.
	1950	Plans to build a roadway along the Canal.
January	1954	Justice William O. Douglas challenges <i>Washington Post</i> editors to hike the length of the Canal. Challenge accepted.
March	1954	Justice Douglas leads hike from Cumberland to Washington. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Association formed.
	1960	House of Assembly votes 227 to 134 against bringing a Bill introduced by Congressman Foley to establish an historical park up for debate on the floor of the House.
	1960	Senate passes a Bill authorising a National Historical Park without a roadway.
January	1961	President Eisenhower proclaims the Canal an historical monument.
	1964	President Johnson's message to Congress on natural beauty.
	1963, 1965, 1967 and 1969	Bills introduced into House of Assembly and Senate but no action taken thereon.
April	1970	Seventeenth annual hike organised by C and O Canal Association.
May	1970	Report by Department of the Interior (Secretary W. Hickel) endorsing the proposed legislation to establish a National Historical Park.
August	1970	House of Assembly House Committee of the Interior hearings on Canal Bill.
October	1970	Bill passes House of Assembly.
December	1970	Senate Committee of the Interior hearings.
December	1970	Bill passes Senate.
January	1971	President Nixon signs Act to establish a National Historical Park.

ROUTE OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL



D100

Television Programme 26

THE TIV OF NIGERIA: A STATELESS SOCIETY

It is often difficult to get a vivid and meaningful impression of an unfamiliar people by merely *reading* about them. This is where a television programme can make a unique contribution. The example of a stateless society discussed at some length in the correspondence text and Reader is that of the Tiv; actually seeing the Tiv people in the television programme, hearing them talk and seeing them in action will give you much greater insight and interest in the written material.

You may find it of interest to know a little about how the film was made. It was shot on our behalf in Nigeria in summer 1970 by Francis Speed. It was in fact made under certain difficulties. Apart from the usual problems about transport, equipment breaking down, and the onset of the rainy season, there were added difficulties in the current political situation of Tivland so that the film team were constantly in danger of being arrested by the police and military. In addition, the democratic nature of Tiv society caused problems for there was no one man who could organise activities and groups for the film team. On one occasion, for instance, they tried to film in a market where no one man had the power to organise activities – with the result that they were actually chased out, filming as they went! Finally, there was the problem that is well-known for all filming of social life: that informal ‘social interaction’ cannot be laid on to order, so that it is always easier to film relatively structured activity (like dancing, say) than an argument or conversation. You may notice the effect of this in the television programme (and in similar film programmes).

The film was then edited in London on the basis of discussion between members of the BBC and myself (Ruth Finnegan). I also wrote and added the commentary.

Local research for the film was by Peggy Harper (assisted by Joseph Suswam), general research by myself on the basis of published work on the Tiv. References for further reading on the Tiv are given at the end of the correspondence text.

You may find the Nigerian accent of the two Tiv men interviewed in English a little difficult to follow at first, so I am adding a transcript of their first statements.

Mr Abaagu

‘Traditionally speaking a Tiv man is very democratic. The Tiv believes in discussing any matter that is put forward for discussion. Naturally we don’t accept any imposition of will from any quarters traditionally speaking, so that this is the basic difference between a Tiv man and any other man say in the former northern Nigeria because there, in the Muslim community, the Hausa people had their own tradition because they had a chieftancy institution and in their own way of life when a headman speaks, he speaks

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for nearly everybody, so that, in effect, his 'yes' is yes for everybody, his 'no' is no of everybody. This is quite different from the Tiv man's way of doing things because a Tiv man would never accept any opinion from anybody if he didn't agree with this so.'

Joseph Suswam

'And perhaps to interest you to know that the Tiv society is an egalitarian society. By that I mean a society where every man is allowed a say in a com . . . in a dispute, for instance. And the decision . . . the final decision is only left to the elders to take because we have great respect for our elders. All I want you to understand about elders is that these elders are actually people who normally arbitrate in cases. We do not have chiefs traditionally. We do not have chiefs as you would expect to find chiefs in Yorubaland. People reach the top by personal achievement, not because they inherit from their grandfathers who have been chiefs before them.'

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Television Programme 27

POLITICS IN GROUPS

This programme looks at university government, and in doing this starts by asking some general questions about politics. First, can we in organisations like a university find a structure of government analogous to the formal structure of a state's government? Even if we can find such a structure and examine the activity which takes place around it we still have to ask whether this is 'political' activity. These questions are directly related to the discussion of 'politics' in your course unit, and in the TV programme we accept the broad definition of the course unit i.e., that politics can be found in groups and in organisations like universities as well as in the government of the state.

The programme concentrates mainly on the activities concerned with the allocation of resources.

Universities have general development plans in which they outline the framework for development over a number of years. The example of the Leeds development plan is used showing both what each department of the University requested in terms of staff and what the committee which drew up the plan recommended. In no case did the recommendation meet the request. There was a similar shortfall in terms of satisfying requests for buildings.

The programme traces how individual departments set about achieving the resources they want. In interviews two heads of department speak about the preparations they make and the hurdles they have to cross. The departments are partly in competition with each other for resources.

Initiatives from the departments have to progress through the formal structure of the University via a complex committee system, which is serviced by an administration. The chief administrative officer is the Registrar. The Registrar who was interviewed was Dr Loach of Leeds. He did not see himself as part of the policy making process, but rather as a clearing house for information, although he accepted that the possession of information could give considerable power.

The Registrar speaks about the two main bodies of the University – the Senate, made up of academics, and the Council with a mixture of academics and lay members. The Senate is responsible for the academic side of the University, the Council for the business and financial side.

The point is then made that in Universities as in other organisations, the informal as well as formal activities are very important. This is also made clear in interviews with a Vice Chancellor, Sir Roger Stevens, and a Provost, (a post similar to that of a Vice Chancellor), Lord Annan. The Vice Chancellor is responsible for the overall running of the University and forms a bridge between the administrative and academic parts of the University.

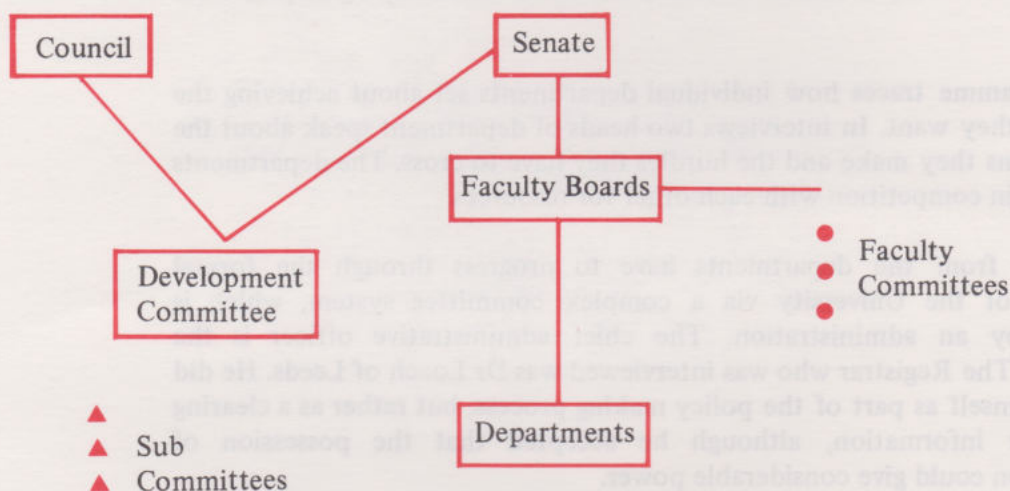
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In the interviews, Sir Roger Stevens emphasises the consensus seeking role of the Vice Chancellor, and Lord Annan, while accepting that Vice Chancellors can and do seize initiatives, claims that they cannot impose decisions, that they have to have grass roots support. They also give their views of the committee system, of the work of the Senate and the Council and how resources are distributed.

There is then an interview with two academics who have undertaken research in this field: Professor Graeme Moodie, and Mr Roland Eustace. They bring out the essentially political nature of the activity that has been discussed in the programme.

An offprint of an article by Moodie and Eustace on university government is included with your reading material. This is not compulsory reading, but you may wish to follow up this TV programme by reading it.

THE STRUCTURE OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNMENT



D100
Television Programme 28
POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL CULTURES

The first part of this programme presents an abstract model – a functionalist model – of the political system in societies. To help you recall afterwards the main points made, the diagrams used are reproduced below.

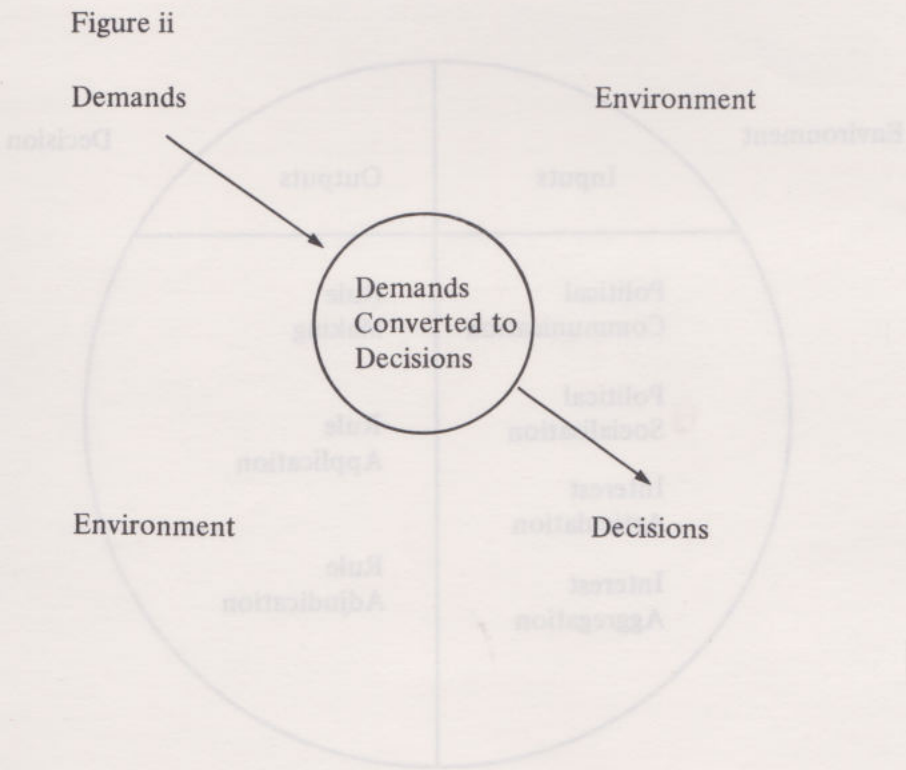
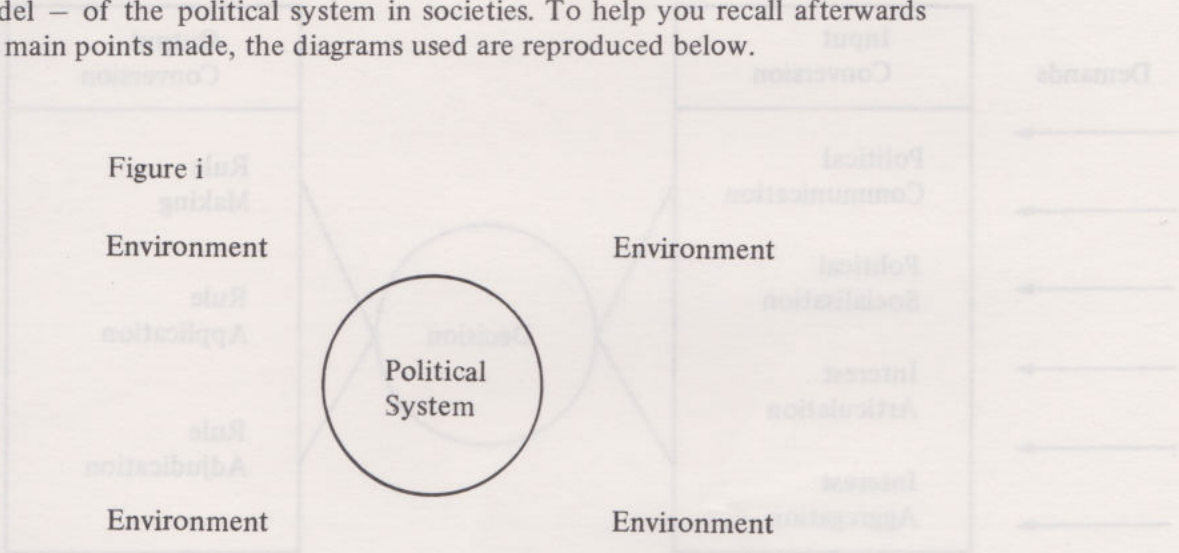


Figure iii

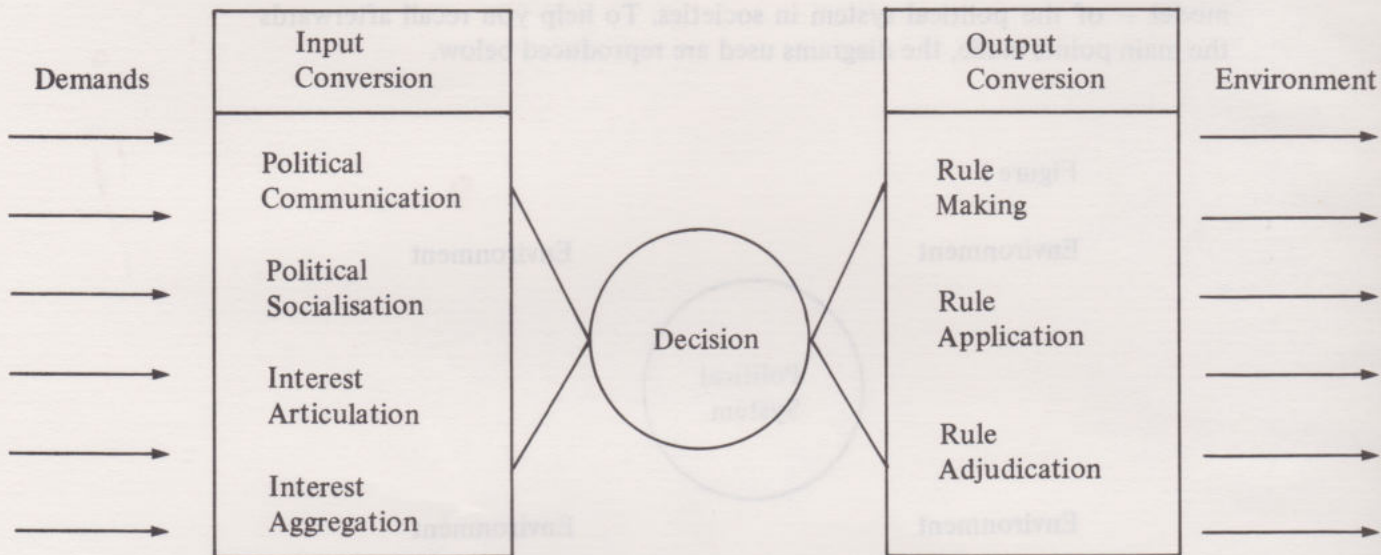
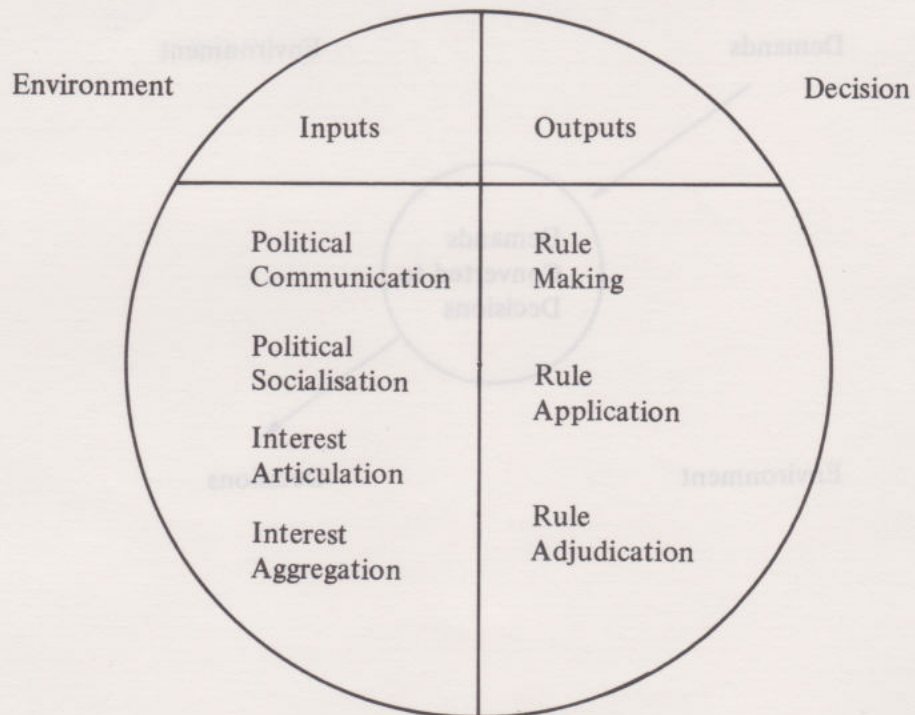


Figure iv



D100 Television Programme 28

The final discussion concentrates on two questions:

- 1 What use such models as the ones presented have in making comparisons.
- 2 How far models have built into them certain outlooks and values.

